



ROBERT ORME F.R.S.
MDCLXXVII ET XLVI
Inventor of the world's first submarine
1770-1771
THE HON^{BLE} EAST INDIA COMPANY
had him a man of the Royal Navy

*HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS
OF THE
MOGUL EMPIRE,
OF THE
MORATTOES,
AND OF THE ENGLISH CONCERNS
IN INDOSTAN,
FROM THE YEAR MDCLIX*

1659.

*ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH ESTABLISHMENT, AND
OF THE COMPANY'S TRADE,
AT BROACH AND SURAT;
AND
A GENERAL IDEA OF THE GOVERNMENT
AND PEOPLE OF INDOSTAN.*

By ROBERT ORME, Esq. F. A. S.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,
AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THE AUTHOR.

"Mr. Orme, the historian of India, unites an exquisite taste for every fine art,
with an accurate knowledge of Asiatic manners."

Sir William Jones's Third Discourse.

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SUCCESSOR TO MR. NOURSE.

M,DCCC,V.

TO THE
HONOURABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.
OF THE
EAST INDIA COMPANY,
TO WHOSE
FOSTERING PATRONAGE AND LIBERAL ENCOURAGEMENT
OF EVERY BRANCH OF
ORIENTAL LITERATURE
THE WORLD IS INDEBTED FOR THOSE
DISCOVERIES IN THE HISTORY AND SCIENCES OF THE EAST
WHICH HAVE
GIVEN TO THE ENGLISH NAME IN INDIA
A REPUTATION FOR LEARNING
NOT LESS EXALTED THAN ITS
FAME IN ARMS AND LEGISLATION,
THIS
MISCELLANEOUS VOLUME
FROM THE
POSTHUMOUS WORKS
OF THEIR LATE LEARNED, ELEGANT, AND LAMENTED
HISTORIOGRAPHER,
IS MOST RESPECTFULLY
INSCRIBED

C O N T E N T S

<i>Life of the Author,</i>	- - - - -	pp 1 to lxviii
<i>Historical Fragments,</i>	- - - - -	p. 1
<i>Notes to the Fragments,</i>	- - - - -	165
<i>Subject of the Notes to the Fragments,</i>	- - - - -	309
<i>Origin of the English Establishment, and of the Company's Trade, at Broach and Surat,</i>	- - - - -	317
<i>General Idea of the Government and People of Indostan</i>		391
<i>Effeminacy of the Inhabitants of Indostan,</i>	- - - - -	455
<i>Authorities,</i>	- - - - -	473
<i>Index</i>		

ERRATA.

- Page 10, line 20, for Ahmednagar read Ahmednagur.
— 56 — 6, for in, read on.
— 56, — 25, for whom, read at which time.
— 64, — 7 for western, read eastern.
— 83 — 11 delete that.
— 163, art. for land, read land.
— 179, line 4 for N to III read Note IV
— 223, — 2 for that few read that be few
— 274, — 17 for D'Abbeville read D'Alberville
— 373, — 1, for Behanghra, read Jahangir
— 432, — 8, for empire, read empire.

MEMOIRS

M E M O I R S

OF THE

L I F E A N D W R I T I N G S

OF THE

A U T H O R.

AMONG those who have most zealously employed their leisure and learning in the public service, the subject of the following Memoir will ever rank high in the estimation of all who have the ability to appreciate his labours. The vast extent of territory now subjected to the East India company, either by war provoked, or negotiation solicited, by the native sovereigns, has rendered the history and geography of INDOSTAN most highly interesting and necessary to all who are connected, directly or indirectly, with our establishments in that quarter of the globe. Indeed, no Gentleman can be considered as having completed his education, until he has made himself in some degree acquainted with the state of the British interests in the East: neither is it too much to say, that since our first knowledge of India, no man has so amply elucidated either its history, or its polity, as MR. ORME. A few authentic particulars of his life and writings, therefore, cannot but be acceptable to a nation which has derived such eminent advantage from his labours

Dr. Alex-

LIFE AND WRITINGS

Dr Alexander Orme, the father of our author went out to India in the Honourable Company's service, as physician and surgeon and arrived at Bombay about the year 1706. He continued there, and at the dependent settlements, a considerable time, with great reputation as we find by the following extract from the public records of that period

" Calicut Augt 30 1707

Mr Alexander Orme, surgeon of Anjengo Fort, has made his request to us, that he may be entered a Company's servant. We find him a very capable and ingenious person, that would be extraordinarily serviceable to our Masters and us in sickness. If your Excellency and the Council are pleased to enter him a factor we request that we may have him at this factory being in great want of assistance as above specified.

" Robert Adams.

" John Jukes."

In a subsequent letter they write — " "

" We are heartily sorry that the rains have been so very unhealthy with you, that Dr Orme could not be spared. We request you would afford us his assistance as soon as you can &c.

Robert Adams, Esq (who signed the foregoing letters as chief of the settlement of Calicut on the coast of Malabar) and Dr Orme, had married two sisters, of the name of Hill.

After having long distinguished himself at Anjengo, in the Travancore country Dr Orme was appointed chief of that settlement, where he had issue of his marriage two sons and two daughters.

ROBERT the second son, and the subject of our Memoir was born on Christmas Day in 1728, and was named after his uncle Adams the mother of Governor Bourchier being one of his sponsors.

With a view at once to his education and his health, for he was of a weak and delicate constitution, the Doctor sent Robert to England when scarcely two years old and he was placed under the care of his aunt Adams, then residing in Cavendish-square. With this lady he continued between two and three years, and was then committed

committed to the tuition of a clergyman for about a twelvemonth; after which, though only six years of age, he was sent to the justly-celebrated school of Harrow. Here he continued between seven and eight years, studied the classics with delight, and was equally distinguished by quickness of parts, and assiduity of application.

In 1741 he was removed from Harrow, and, being intended for the civil service in India, was placed in the office of the Accountant-general of the African company, that he might be initiated in the theory of commercial transactions. "His progress in this branch of knowledge," observes one who knew him well, "was proportioned to the talents that he had previously displayed in more lively and attractive studies, and, as he could not but have felt considerable regret at being obliged to relinquish those studies, his applying to others so little congenial, if not repulsive, to a youthful mind, evinces uncommon vigour as well as diligence."

Having laid what was considered as a firm foundation for subsequent attainments in commercial business, young ORME embarked for India, and arrived in the year 1742 at Calcutta, where his brother WILLIAM then resided as a writer in the Company's service. William was originally intended for the sea, but, disliking that element, obtained the above-mentioned appointment at Calcutta; where he died at about twenty-five years of age. (a) before which time he had lost both his parents.

ROBERT did not return to India in the Company's service, but on his arrival in Calcutta, engaged himself, for improvement, in the house of Jackson and Wedderburn, at that time the first English mercantile firm in India; Mr Jackson being one of the council, and Mr Wedderburn (of the same family as the late earl of Rosslyn) a free merchant. While with them, young ORME made a voyage round the Peninsula to Surat in one of the freight-ships, as they are termed, and it was on his return to Calcutta, in 1748, that he found

(a) See our Author's Verses to the Memory of his Brother, p. liv

found he was appointed from England to be a writer in the Company's civil service (b) In which he continued between nine and ten years becoming, after the first five, a *factor*, according to the Company's regulations in India.

He applied himself with indefatigable zeal in promoting the interests of his employers studying at all convenient seasons the institutions, manners, and customs of the native inhabitants, as well as the state of the municipal government of the town and during this period he collected the materials for many of his subsequent literary undertakings.

In the year 1752, some regulations in the jamadar or government of the town or police of Calcutta, were thought necessary and it appears from Mr Orme's papers, that he was desired to state (though then only twenty four years of age) his opinion on the subject, and to point out such regulations as he should conceive proper to be adopted in that delicate but very important concern.

In his short narrative on this subject, he observes, that the office of Jamadar in Calcutta, owing to the little attention that had been paid in England to a situation of that consequence, seemed never to have been rightly understood there. It comprises in itself two distinct offices, each of which is of the utmost importance under any polity viz. the administration and execution of justice and, the collection of

(b) On this occasion he appears to have referred to the Almighty in pious supplication to fit him for his future character in the world; as in his memorandum, dated November 1744, we find the following prayer written in the 16th year of his age.

" P ATTE November 1744. "

" O GOD whose infinite power is not more slow in the works of thy creation than those eternal beneficence in the preservation of thy creatures, vouchsafe to hear the humble supplications of one of the meanest among them who, in all due sense of the lowness of his condition, presumes on the authority of his Redeemer's command alone to throw himself in all his sins, at the throne of thy mercy. Forgive him, O Lord! his manifold breaches of thy ordinances and endue him with grace & amend his ways before thee. Cast from his heart the rancour of pride the malignity of envy or malice and all those tumultuous passions and urgent emotions of which our frail beings are without thy prevention, so susceptible; endue him with humility grant him charity to all men.

of the revenues. After some very profound and forcible reasoning on the subject, he thus concludes.

" I have very disinterestedly given you an account which it has cost me some years to arrive at a conviction and certainty of, and I dare say you will find few instances, on your return to Calcutta, that do not pretty well tally with it.

" I promised to suggest the most apparent remedies for this sad train of unparalleled abuses and iniquities: but this you will better do than I. The old rule, of curing distempers by their contraries, will, I believe, hold good here. 1st, Separate the revenues from the judiciary power 2dly, Divide those revenues into different branches, by farms, and by distinct collectors then, 3dly, Divide the town into particular districts, each capable of being superintended by one person, and over these districts appoint particular gentlemen, some of the council, some not, as they can be spared. Let an appeal lie to the governor and council. Let the prison and the *cutcherees* be methodized into distinct offices, for regulations and punishments, according to the districts

" I wish this information may be of any service to the Company it must come about by your means alone"

In the same year, 1752, and during his residence at Calcutta, Mr. Orme composed the first and second books of his, "General Idea of the Government and People of Indostan," which is now first printed complete from his MSS in the present volume. This little essay, though a juvenile production, shows the great industry with which he had applied himself to Indian concerns, and may be considered as the germ or foundation of his greater work. The first two books he corrected, retrenched in some, and enlarged in other places, on board the ship Pelham in September 1753; and the third book he composed on board the same vessel, probably for his amusement, during a voyage that he was then making to England, (c), where he arrived at the latter end of that year

We

(c) This voyage of Mr Orme's, from India to England, was principally made at the desire of his favourite aunt, Mrs Adams. With this lady, who had a most affectionate regard for him, he resided during his stay in this country, at her house in Cavendish-square, which came afterwards into the possession of the late lord Gainsborough —

LIFE AND WRITINGS

We cannot forbear to transcribe here, the Author's concluding chapter or reflections, on his work as furnishing a proof of his zeal in favour of Christianity and the sense which he entertained of the liberty that we enjoy in this country as contrasted with that of the inhabitants under oppressive and arbitrary governments.

" Having brought to a conclusion this essay on the government and people of Indostan I cannot refrain from making the reflections which so obviously arise from the subject.

" Christianity indicates all its glories, all its honour and all its reverence when we behold the most horrid impurities avowed amongst the nations on whom its influence does not shine as actions necessary in the common conduct of life. I mean poisonings, treachery and assassinations in the fous of ambition; rapines, cruelty and extortions, in the malifiers of justice.

" I leave divines to vindicate, by more sanctified reflections, the cause of their Religion and their God.

" The foes of Liberty may here behold the mighty ills to which the slaves of a despotic power must be subject: the spirit darkened and depressed by ignorance and fear the body tortured and tormented by punishments inflicted without justice and without measure such a contrast to the blessings of liberty heightens at once the sense of our happiness, and our zeal for the preservation of it.

It may here be necessary for the better elucidation of what follows, to revert to that period when commerce was the Company's sole object the first principle on which their settlements were established having been entirely commercial.

" The Mogul government (Mr Orme observes) had during the long and wise administration of Arangzebe taken such deep root, that the many nations which formed the empire of Indostan were subjugated to the Mogul in various forms; some of them tributary and hereditary and others governed by nabobs, or viceroys, under the immediate appointment of the emperor.

" Such

Mrs Adams left two daughters, Margaretta Anne, and Elizabeth; the second, Elizabeth, married the Hon. Benet Noel, Brateman-general of his Majesty's forces, and colonel of the 43d regiment of foot, whom she survived; at her decease she left her fortune to her sister Margaretta Anne, who died unmarried; this lady at her decease left Mr Orme an annuity of £ 100; and the house in Cavendish-Square to Lord Gainsborough, the nephew of general Noel.

" Such was the state of the empire when the English settled in India, and obtained phirmaunds, or royal grants, for establishing themselves in Bengal, Madras, and Surat, with privilege of trading duty-free, and a grant of a certain district of land to settle upon, with liberty to fortify and govern themselves by their own laws. But as the English saw no violence to be apprehended from a people who had a just idea of commerce, and a government at that time well administered, they built with very little view of defence, and carried on their trade free from oppression.

" The governors of the distant provinces, discovering the weakness to which the power of the Emperor was reduced by the invasion of Nadir Shah, were no longer restrained by fear, each assumed and exercised sovereign authority over his province, and looked on his government as an heritage to his family. Scarce any more of the annual sums, before paid by them to the Mogul, were sent to court, and to maintain themselves in their sovereignty, they levied forces far beyond what the ordinary revenues would maintain. From hence oppressions became necessary, and, in their turn, the Europeans were oppressed, not only in their trade, but large sums extorted from them by violence. Monsr Duplex, the governor of Pondicherry, was the first who took the alarm, and was the first who discovered the superiority of European discipline, and from hence was led into the idea of acquiring a territorial sovereignty in India.

" It is probable, he at first extended his views no farther than a district round Pondicherry, but when once engaged in the politics of the country, his successes so far surpassed his expectation, and opened such a scene of power to him, that he disdained the narrow limits he might at first prescribe to himself, and no doubt but they were enlarged, not only to the conquest of the Carnatic, but to the extirpation of all other European nations, and even to the reduction of the whole Mogul empire, and to make it a dependant state on the crown of France.

" The English beheld his progress with astonishment, but were not roused to action till they found themselves on the point of being swallowed up by the French power. Forced to it, they with reluctance, in 1750, undertook the support of Mahomed Ally against Chunda Sahib, under whose name the French carried on their ambitious projects.

" It is not our intention to enter into a minute detail of that long war, maintained on our side against a constant superiority of numbers, at the expence of the lives of many thousands of brave men, and at the risque of near a million sterling of the Company's property, we shall only observe, that from our successes, the Nabob's situation was so different at the end of the year 1753, from what it was in 1750, at which time the single city of Trichinopoly was the only part of his dominions that remained unconquered by the French, that in 1753 he had recovered, and was master of, almost the whole Carnatic, and at that time the French resources seemed nearly exhausted.

" The French company stated at the facette which attended Mons. Duplex in the commencement of the war, at first fully approved his measures; but the opposition of the other European powers, the unforeseen treaty of war, and the deviating so widely from their natural object of conquest, rendering the event very uncertain, there was nothing could fix their will in the rectitude of those measures, but successes that might attend them, and a happy period to the war, which Mons. Duplex promised them in every letter. But, instead of these successes, they saw the contrary, of which they expected the reverse would be their reward, in the hands of their enemies, and their stock vanishing in the support of an uncertain war which ruined their trade, and the miseries of the country from which they had before hoped advantages fitful to their establishment.

" The war appeared in the fairest light to the English company; and they therefore both agreed on a neutrality for the Carnatic till settlers should be posted to put an end to that and all future wars by negotiation at home. But as it regarded the Carnatic only, it did not check the progress of the French arms in the Deccan, the Soobah of which had added to their Mysorepan, and four provinces, which yielded them a revenue of 400,000 £ sterling a year. Nor did there appear any check to their progress in that country; the French gate law by their influence over the Soobah to a country as extensive and populous as France; and by a prudent management of what they had so acquired, or by increase of dominion, it was in their power even then to have laid a foundation on which M. Duplex's great idea of conquest might have been realized. And although the French company themselves should have chosen to adhere to their commercial interests, Duplex's projects faltered too well with that spirit of conquest which prevails in the French court, to be neglected; and upon the breaking out of the war it is reasonable to conclude from the forces sent out under general tally that they adopted them to their utmost extent. Our settlements were but a screen by itself; their forces were so formidable that they with great probability imagined them trifling obstacle (which surmounted) Cape Comorin and the Ganges might have been the boundaries of their dominions.

On our Author's arrival in London in the year 1753, he found His Majesty's ministers and the India Company deeply engaged with the affairs of the East; for the directors had in the preceding year made representations to ministers respecting the hostilities in which they were involved on the coast of Coromandel, and solicited their aid, either to carry on or terminate the war which their own resources were little able to continue against the French company strongly supported by the government of France.

With

With a mind so acute and observing as he possessed, Mr Orme could not have resided ten years in India without acquiring considerable knowledge, not only of the manners, customs, and institutions of its inhabitants, but of the political condition of its different states. Possessing besides a good address, and pleasing manner of communicating information, he was soon after his arrival in London; much noticed by those who desired to obtain intelligence respecting the affairs of India. Being with this intention introduced to Lord Haldene, then one of His Majesty's secretaries of state, he received the countenance and support of that nobleman, and a long correspondence took place on the subject of our oriental settlements, which is now preserved among Mr. Orme's MSS in the East India House, and which must have imparted great and satisfactory information, for the British ministry soon after perceived the necessity of interfering vigorously to stop the ambitious projects of Mr Duplex, and began a negotiation with the French ministers on the subject Mr Orme observes

"In 1753-4 Mr Duvelier, a director of the French company, together with his brother the comte de Lude, who had both of them resided for many years in the East Indies, were deputed from Paris, to treat with the ministry in London, and had frequent conferences with the earl of Holderness, who by much application and frequent enquiries, from all persons capable of giving true information, had gained an extensive knowledge of the subject, however intricate and little understood. This minister, finding that the French endeavoured as usual to gain time under the pretence of negotiating, prevailed on the king to order a squadron of men of war to be equipped, on board of which a regiment was to be embarked for the East Indies. This vigorous resolution convinced the French administration, that a perseverance in their schemes of making conquests, and obtaining dominion in Indostan, would soon involve the two nations in a general war, for which France was in no wise prepared and they 'concluded that the disputes of the two companies should be adjusted by commissioners in India, on a footing of equality, without any regard to the advantages which either the one or the other might be in possession of at the time when the treaty should be concluded. It now remained only to choose such commissioners as would implicitly fulfil these intentions, and the French themselves were so fully convinced that Mr Duplex was not a man fit to be trusted with a commission which contradicted so strongly every part of his conduct since the beginning of the war of Coromandel, that they foresaw the English ministry would suspect the good faith of every pacific profession they had lately made, if they should offer

to nominate Mr Duplex a commissary to adjust the terms of peace. Having therefore no alternative they of their own accord and without any application from the English ministry took the resolution of removing him from the government of Pondicherry and appointed Mr Godeheu a director of the French company their commissary to negotiate the peace and at the same time commander general, with absolute authority over all their settlements in the East Indies. The English company empowered Mr Saunders, and some other members of the council of Madras, to treat with Mr Godeheu.

For the conclusion of these important events, we must refer the reader to Mr Orme's History of the Military Transactions in Indostan.

In the spring of 1754 Mr Orme returned to India on board the Warren East Indiaman, Capt. Alphonse Glover and arrived at Madras on the 14th September of that year. Previous to his leaving England, he had been appointed by the court of directors a member of the council at Fort St. George where, on his arrival, he took his seat at the board accordingly. Here he soon had an opportunity of displaying that political sagacity and decision with which his strong natural parts, and former experience of the politics and manners of India, had furnished him. The united wisdom and strength of the council and the army indeed, were necessary to counteract the ambitious views of the French, supported by the French ministry at home, to effect either the expulsion (*a*) or dependence on them, not only of the English but of all the other European powers in India.

The British ministry now became sensible of the value and importance of Indostan to this country from a careful inquiry into the Company's affairs in that quarter of the globe, assisted in a vigorous manner their efforts both by sea and land (*b*).

That great statesman, Mr Pitt, in 1757 continued the same attention to the interest of the East Indies sending powerful squadrons and

(*a*) The expulsion of the English from India appears to have been a joint object also with other nations. The Portuguese and the Dutch strove to effect it in the earlier periods of the British settlements there; but with no better success than that which has attended the efforts of the French in later times, as appears from many parts of Mr Orme's history.

(*b*) The following are Extracts from the King's Instructions to Admiral Watson, dated 2d March 1754; from Lord Weymouth's Appeal, 4th 1769.

The Company having, agreeable to Royal Charter entered into compacts with some of the Indian princes, for giving them aid and assistance against their enemies, but finding

and troops (*f*), by which the French power in India was totally subdued, and our Author, in his account of the surrender of Pondicherry in April 1761, bears the following strong and ample testimony to the important consequences of this well-timed assistance

" This day terminated the long contested hostilities between the two rival European powers in Coromandel, and left not a single ensign of the French nation, avowed by the authority of its government, in any part of India, for the troops which had gone away to Mysore, were hereafter to be regarded as a band of military adventurers seeking fortune and subsistence. In Bengal, they had not a single agent or representative, and their factories at Surat and Callicut were mere trading houses on sufferance. Thus after a war of 15 years, which commenced with the expedition of De la Bourdonnais against Madras in 1746 (*g*), and had continued from that time with scarcely the intermission of one year, was retaliated the same measure of extirpation, which had been intended, and invariably pursued, by the French councils against the English commerce and power for such, as is avowed in the French me-

moirs

finding the burthen too heavy, the King, willing and desirous to maintain the Company in all their just rights and privileges, sent a squadron to perform such services as may be most conducive to the interest of the said Company, and of such Indian princes, with whom they have or may contract engagements."

The Admiral is also directed " with his best advice to assist the General Council, which the Company have directed a certain number of persons employed in their service, to form themselves into, in order to consider of and resolve upon a proper plan of operation, and when the plan is agreed upon, to make use of the force under his command, in order to put the same in execution in the best manner possible "

" That he shall assist, and be a member of all councils of war, wherein any service in which the naval force is to co operate shall be taken into consideration" And they declare it the Royal " will and pleasure, that the Admiral should cautiously avoid whatsoever may be construed an act of hostility against the subjects, &c of any European potentate, unless the General Council, nominated by the India Company as above mentioned, should think it absolutely necessary for him to make reprisals"

(*f*) After the declaration of war, the secretary of state, under date 11th January 1757, writes the admiral

" The Company, it is hoped, having a perfect knowledge of their own affairs, may form such plans of operation, as may best secure their possessions or annoy the enemy, and it is therefore his Majesty's pleasure, that the commanders of his ships shall concur and assist in the execution thereof"

(*g*) From this period, says Mr Orme, it is useful to contemplate the progress made by the English in Indostan, both in the science and spirit of war.

The

more on the great reliance related was the object of De la Bourdonnais's expedition, of the whole government and subordination of Dupleix, and of the great armament of naval and land forces which accompanied M. Lally to India; who could have declared that he had but one point, which was, not to let a *Englishman* in the port of Madras.⁽⁴⁾ To retard as much as possible the facility of their re-establishment in Pondicherry if restoration should be made at the conclusion of a general peace, Mr Pigot had a representation before the council of Madras, which determined them to destroy all the interior buildings, as well as the fortifications of Pondicherry, of which the demolition was by this time nearly completed, and in a few months more, not a roof was left standing in this once fair, and flourishing city.

(4) The Court of France had instructed M. Lally to destroy the maritime possessions of the English nation in India, which might fall to his arms. These instructions had been intercepted; and in consequence of them, the Court of Directors of the English East India Company had ordered their predilection to retaliate the same measures on the French settlements, whenever in their power. Mr Pigot, with the approbation of the council of Madras, resolved to demolish the fortifications of Pondicherry; and as admiral Stevens signified his intention to repair forthwith to Bombay in order to recall his squadron, the demolition was commenced without delay, lest a French armament should arrive during their absence, and recover the town, while the fortifications remained in condition to afford any advantage in maintaining it.—Of the intercepted French instructions, we are enabled to lay before the reader the following extract:

An Extract from the Instructions given to General Lally by the French East India Company

"The Sieur de Lally is authorized to destroy the fortifications of maritime settlements which may be taken from the English; it may be proper to except Vizagapatam, by reason of its being so nearly situated to (Dutch factory) Bengalpatnam, which in that case would be enriched by the ruins of Vizagapatam; but as to that, as well as the demolishing all other places whatsoever the Sieur de Lally is to consult the Governor and Superior Council of Pondicherry and to have their opinions in writing; but notwithstanding he is to destroy such places as he shall think proper unless strong and sufficient arguments are made use of to the contrary; such, for example as the Company being apprehensive for some of their settlements, and that it would be then thought prudent and necessary to reserve the power of exchange in case any of them should be lost; nevertheless, if the Sieur de Lally should think it too hazardous to keep a place or that he thought he could not do it without too much dividing or weakening his army His Majesty then leaves it in his power to act as he may think proper for the good of the service."

"The Sieur de Lally is to allow of no English settlement being reinforced. In regard to the English troops, to both officers and men belonging to the English Company and to the inhabitants of that nation, the Sieur de Lally is to permit none of them to remain

But to return from what may be considered as a digression. When intelligence was brought to Madras, of the capture, in June 1756, of the English settlement at Calcutta by Surajah Dowlah, the subahdar of Bengal, and of the dreadful sufferings, of the captives on that occasion, it scarcely excited more horror and resentment, than consternation and perplexity. The national honour, however, required immediate reparation, and the atrocities of the dungeon cried aloud for exemplary vengeance.

In

remain on the Coast of Coromandel. He may, if he pleases, permit the inhabitants to go to England, and order them to be conducted in armed vessels to the Island of St. Helena. But as to the officers and writers belonging to the East India Company, as well as soldiers and sailors, he is to order them to be conducted as soon as possible to the Island of Bourbon, where it will be permitted for the soldiers and sailors to work for the inhabitants of that place, but by a mutual agreement. One should avoid sending them to the French Islands to prevent their being acquainted with the coast, as well as the interior parts of the Islands. It is by no means his Majesty's intention that the English officers, soldiers, and sailors, should be ransomed, as none are to be delivered up but by exchange, man for man, according to their different ranks and stations.

If the exchange of prisoners should be by chance settled at home, between the two nations (of which proper notice will be given to the Sieur de Lally), and that the Island of Bourbon should have more prisoners than it would be convenient to provide for, in that case it will be permitted to send a certain number to England, in a vessel armed for that purpose.

No English officers, soldiers, &c are to be permitted to remain in a place after it is taken, neither are they to be suffered to retire to any other of their settlements, or to any neutral settlements, the Sieur de Lally is not in the least to deviate from the above Instructions and Regulations, unless there should be a capitulation which stipulates the contrary, in which case, the Sieur de Lally is faithfully and honestly to adhere to the Capitulation.

The whole of what has been said before concerns only the natives of England, but as they live in their settlements, Merchants of all Nations, such as Moors, Armenians, Jews, and Pataners, &c the Sieur de Lally is to treat them with Humanity, and is to endeavour by fair means to engage them to retire to Pondicherry, or any other of the Company's Acquisitions, assuring them that they will be protected, and that the same liberty and privileges which they before possessed among the English will be granted them.

Among the recruits furnished to complete the regiments of Lorraine and Berry's, there are 300 men from Fischer's recruits, lately raised, and as it is feared there will be considerable desertions among those new recruits, the Sieur de Lally may if he pleases leave them on the Isle de France, where they will be safe from desertion, and may replace them from the troops of that Island.

c

Remarks

In the course of much deliberation and debate, Mr Orme, who, having resided nine years in the company's service at Calcutta, well knew the strength and insolence of the Moorish government in Bengal, declared that nothing short of the most vigorous hostilities would induce the Nabob to make peace or reparation. He considered the force that was proposed as quite inadequate even to the recapture of Calcutta and insisted that it ought to be sufficient to attack the Nabob even in his capital of Mysore; that there should be at least a battalion of 800 Europeans, with as many sepoys as could be embarked but not less than 1500 that the squadron, if divided, would be of little service any where, and therefore that the whole should proceed to Bengal. Such an armament, he thought, would soon decide the contest and after a peace should be effected the Squadron, with a large part of the troops, might return and arrive in the month of April before which time the nature of the monsoons rendered it improbable that the French armament, as it had not yet appeared, would be able to make its passage to the coast. Besides,

the

Remarks on Memorial of the French East India Company delivered to the Count D'Acbré, Chef d'Escadre, and commanding the Squadron destined to the East India towards the latter end of the Year 1756

Article 7.—Remarks, that it is probable the English Squadron may be in Trincomalee Bay either as place of security gainst the French, or in case. In either case, the Commander of the French Squadron is instructed to declare to the Dutch that it is against the rules of strict neutrality to receive and protect in their port the Enemies of France. That he has orders to pursue, and take or burn the Enemy's ships, whenever he shall meet them, which order he must obey in spite of their opposition.

Article 8.—Points out the places where it is probable the English Squadron may take shelter and advises the taking or burning it in any part of India, though belonging to neutral powers, a Trincomalee, Mergay Achen, or any other port, except in China or Bengal; where they observe, it may not be prudent to commit any violence, lest their Commerce suffer so infringing the protection which the Government may give to English ships.

It appears from hence that this restriction proceeded only from apprehension of hurting their Trade not of respect the Law of Nations.

Article 10.—Points out the operations for 1755; and, proposing Madras or Fort St. George taken in 1757, advised the immediate attack of the remaining settlements, and the total expulsion of the English from the Coromandel Coast; which, in another place, the Company observe, is the first object of their attention, that their forces now do that Loss may more readily take place. They also recommend the destruction of

; the detachment which had been sent to the relief of M. Buffy, commanding in the Northern provinces, had deprived the government of Pondicherry of the means of making any attempt in the Carnatic which the force at Madras could not easily frustrate.

This opinion of Mr Orme's, after repeated objections had been started and removed, became at last the unanimous sense of the council, and the resolution was communicated to admiral Watson, who, after holding a council of war, took measures for carrying it into effect.

Other

Devecotah, Ingeram, Vizagapatam, and the rest of the Factories to the Northward, as well as the infant settlement at the Negrus

Article 11—Proposes, that in case they arrive too late at the Islands, to be on the Coromandel Coast time enough to undertake any enterprise before the Monsoon of 1757, to project any other operation which may not interfere with, or delay the operations on the Coast of Coromandel early in 1758. Some ships are particularly recommended to be sent to Bencoolen to take that place, and the other settlements on Sumatra, from whence all the English and slaves are to be carried off to the Island of Bourbon.

Article 13—Observes, that there is still in India a better understanding between the Dutch and English than there is in Europe, to the prejudice of France, and therefore little regard ought to be paid to their Flag, if any British Subjects or Effects are found with them (?)

In another Instruction for Count D'Aché, sent by De L'Aguille, on the 8th December 1757, it is said.

Article 4—That should the operations on the River Bengal be attended with success, the conquered Places may either be kept, or the Fortifications, Civil Buildings and Warehouses utterly destroyed. Should the latter plan be resolved on, not a Factory ought

(?) This article was, in the execution, carried even beyond the order, for the French seized the Haerlem, a Dutch Indiaman, which made one of their blockading Squadron at the siege of Madras, they also took possession of the Dutch fort of Sadras merely as a convenient Place of Arms, in the vicinity of Madras. The English ladies, after the commencement of the siege, being sent to Sadras, as a neutral settlement, for security, were surprised, on their arrival, to find it in possession of the French. The French loaded the boats that brought the ladies with military stores, and dispatched them to Lally, who was besieging Madras, but the native boatmen, concerted together, on a signal, seized the French guards in the boats, and brought them prisoners to Madras, with the military stores, which Governor Pigot bought for the East India Company, and gave the boatmen the amount, in reward for their fidelity.

Other points, however, of equal moment to the success of the expedition remained to be decided. Who should command the land forces? What should be the extent of his authority in military operations, and in negotiations with the Nabob? In what dependence, or relation ought he to stand with the late governor and council of Calcutta, and how far should their authority be maintained or impeded?

On these important topics much consideration and argument took place, and the difficulty of deciding the last point, that of the authority of the late council of Calcutta, suggested to Mr Pigot, the governor of Madras, an idea of going himself to Bengal as commander of the army, and with full powers as the company's representative in all other affairs. He however wanted military experience nor had the council's authority to give so extensive a commission to any individual. Colonel Adlercron then claimed the military command offering to go with his whole regiment but he wanted experience in the irregular warfare of India, and his powers were independent of the company's agents. Mr Orme strongly urged that on the success of this expedition, the reputation of the British arms in India, and the consequent stability of the company's possessions, most materially depended. He represented the nature of the country which the expedition was destined to invade, the magnitude of the army which it would have to oppose, the numerous difficulties and dangers

ought to remain, nor an English inhabitant (even those born in the Country) suffered to reside in the province.

This resolution, they offerre to the most effectual means to establish their reputation on the Ganges; but they seem to recommend only the destruction of the new Fort, and the preservation of old Calcutta, on condition of ransoms, and the observance of strict neutrality in Bengal for the future; this the French soon made desirous of, but built on ready money for the ransom, and hostages for the performance of agreements. His most Christian Majesty in letter of the 23d January 1757 to Count D'Acé, instructed him not to leave an Englishman in any place that shall be taken, but to send away in Carted Ships to St. Helena, or suffer to pass to England, all Free Merchants and Inhabitants not in the Company Service, but to keep prisoners, all Civil Servants, Officers, and Soldiers, and not set any at liberty unless exchanged against those of equal rank. As to the prisoners, they are all to be sent to the Island of Bourbon, and there kept in deposit till it may be thought proper to send them to France.

dangers with which it would infallibly be surrounded, and the necessity, therefore, of vesting the command of it in an officer who should not only be equally intelligent and active, but also accustomed to the peculiarities of Indian warfare, and acquainted with the character of the natives. The success of such an enterprize, he said, would depend not less on the keen discernment and decisive judgment, than on the personal valour and intrepidity, of him to whom it might be entrusted. In this opinion, Mr Orme was supported by Col Lawrence (*l*), then a member of the council, and commander in chief of the company's troops.

At length, on the recommendation of our Author, lieut.-col Clive was finally chosen as the person in all respects best qualified for the undertaking. The well-known result was a glorious confirmation of the wisdom and propriety of the choice, and it serves to place in a striking point of view, the penetrating sagacity and sound judgment of Mr Orme, to whom this country is indebted for this hazardous enterprize having been placed under the guidance of Clive, whose intrepid and adventurous genius could perhaps have alone conducted it to the important conquest which it achieved. The details will be found well related by our author in the second volume of his *Military Transactions in Indostan*.

In all the deliberations of the council of Madras relative to the military operations in the Carnatic between the years 1754 and 1759, Mr Orme took an active part, and in some of the most critical conjunctures of that war, his abilities, as a politician and a statesman, appeared particularly conspicuous. Indeed, so sensible were the court of directors of the benefit which the public service derived from his advice, and so highly was his general conduct esteemed, that he was appointed the eventual successor to the governor of Madras, but did not continue in India long enough to succeed to that honourable station.

In

(*k*) Col Lawrence would probably have been himself appointed on this expedition, but the climate of Bengal was well known to be so adverse to an asthmatic disorder, with which he was afflicted, that it was thought he would be disabled from that incessant activity so requisite to the success of an expedition of which the termination must be limited to a certain time.

In consequence of his duty as a member of council, Mr Orme held the offices of commissary and accountant general during the years 1757 & so that almost the whole of his time was occupied in public business he nevertheless found leisure to cultivate the friendship of those in whom he discovered any estimable qualities. With admiral Watson and sir George Pocock he was in habits of great intimacy and with capt. Speke, who commanded the flag ship then on the Indian station (¹) he contracted a close friendship, which not only contributed to their own gratification, but tended to advance the public service for by their cordial and united exertions many difficulties and impediments which obstructed the co-operation of the land and naval forces were either surmounted or removed He entertained also a high esteem for Mr James Alexander (afterwards earl of Caledon) who was his deputy as accountant-general. About this time too he became acquainted with Mr Alexander Dalrymple, who has since acquired so much well-deserved reputation by his hydrographical works Mr Orme, perceiving that that gentleman had capacity for a distinguished station, was desirous of having him nominated to succeed Mr Alexander as deputy-accountant and though his endeavours in this particular were unsuccessful, he continued with a generous attention to cherish and befriend him.

Though Mr Orme's official avocations prevented him from applying to the study of classical literature, for which he had in his youth imbibed an ardent desire, they afforded him great facilities for collecting those historical materials whereby that literary character which he was ambitious to gain was destined to be established. The delicate state of his health, however about this time induced him to return to England for which purpose he embarked at the latter end of 1758 on board the Grantham, capt. Oliver

In doubling the Cape of Good Hope, on the 4th Jan. 1759, the Grantham was taken by the French. As England was at that time at war with France, capt. Oliver had hoisted Dutch colours. On approaching the Cape, the Grantham was met by two French line-of-battle ships, who passed her but just as she was about to enter Table Bay

(1) To whose spirit and abilities Mr Orme pays an honourable tribute in his "Military Transactions." See vol. ii. p. 182—4.

By, some of the French officers remarked to their con modore, that the vessel which they had passed could not be Dutch, she was so well navigated and manœuvred, they therefore bore down, took her, and carried her to the isle of Mauritius, where, from Mr Orme's papers, we find he continued some time.

It was not possible in my situation for Mr Orme's mind to be unemployed, and a few extracts from the memorandi that he kept, while detained in this French settlement, may not be useless or uninteresting.

"The Dutch (so observe) on the 10th Sept 1708 discovered the Isle of Mauritius, which they called by that name. It was till then called by the Portuguese the Isle of Ceylon.

"In the year 1653 (or) no Europeans were yet settled in the Isle of Mauritius. In 1750 (July) how peopled! how improved!"

"I saw in the island of Mauritius, two cinnamon trees, procured by Mr Godde-hen from Ceylon, which were planted at the redoubt, and of which great hopes were entertained, & they grew up fine, but from the general climate of the island, and the particular state of the part in which they were planted, I apprehended that they, or at least their seedlings, will degenerate. The mountains of Mauritius are covered with a fair soil, the product of the forests with which they are crowded. It rains on them almost daily, and when it does not, there is a continued mist. Cinnamon, which will not grow in perfection on the continent of India that is parallel to Ceylon, will probably fail elsewhere, unless the same kind of climate and soil as that of Ceylon can be found in other parts, and neither, I believe, are to be met with near the tropic of Capricorn."

From Mr Orme's memorandi in the Mauritius, we shall only give the following additional passage.

"The Chinese had, long before us in Europe, attempted the philosopher's stone and the elixir of immortality, and they still continue in these delusions. It is remarkable, that they think these secrets are permitted only to those who have acquired the highest degree of virtue so say their chemical authors. Perhaps some of their ancient mortists may have said, in terms at once simple and metaphorical, that virtue gave gold and immortality. In an age of ignorance, succeeding to times of which so fine a sentiment demonstrates the illumination, some crazy chemist may have thought that gold and life were to be acquired, provided

(m) There is probably an error in this date.

provided he made wine one of the ingredients of his operation. The gods of the latter Egyptians were formed from a gross misapprehension.

Toward the end of the year 1750 Mr Orme arrived at the Cape of Good Hope where he remained some weeks for the benefit of his health. From the Cape he embarked for France (meaning to make a short stay there previous to his return to England) and landed at Nantes in the spring of 1760.

His perfect acquaintance with the language and his polite address, procured him all those pleasing attentions, and flattering civilities, which at that time so much distinguished the French nation. During his stay in France, he attended the representations of two plays, one called *Les Philosophes* written by Palissot de Montenoy and the other *Le Café ou L'Ecossaise*, written by Voltaire. On these we find some remarks among the papers of Mr Orme which we think not unworthy of transcription.

"On the 2d of May 1760 M Palissot de Montenoy de l'Academie des Sciences, gave a Comedy at the Theatre of Paris, entitled *Les Philosophes*. This he afterwards printed with a preface in which are several quotations from different metaphysical and moral or immoral works, to prove that the authors were Materialists, and that they established principles destructive of all sound morality as well as religion.

It is said that particular persons, as D'Alembert, Diderot, Du Clos Helvetius le Chevalier Jascourt, and Rousseau of Geneva all men of most respectable conditions, were designed in the characters of Palissot's play.

These characters form a conspiracy to obtain in marriage for one of the set, a rich heiress, through the ascendancy that they have gained over the mother who is a pretender to philosophy to wit, and learning and is even an author.

This alarmed; and the more as M Le Franc discourse to the Academy had represented most of these gentlemen, and at their head Voltaire as disturbers of society and incapable of being useful members of it, since they were not Christians.

There were not wanting able persons to defend the most learned men in France against M Palissot; nor was M Palissot wanting to the defence of his piece.

The Vision of Palissot, written by M _____ procured the author the honour of going to the Bastille. It is written in the manner of a chapter of the Bible with strong wit. Nothing of ill that could be imputed to Palissot is forgotten.

Political

Political Detraction is the spirit that appears to Palissot, presided by Power, and orders him to write his Play.

The Oracle is a series of questions concerning M. Palissot and his play, in which his Moral and Abilities as an author, are handled with the utmost wit.

It was said that M. Voltaire had condemned Palissot, to confute which opinion, he publishes the letters that had passed on the subject between him and M. Voltaire. M. Voltaire advises him to acknowledge his errors, in having imputed quotations to persons who were not the authors of them, advises him to be tender of his dear Frenchopelists, and to eat the eel with his neighbour instead of flinging the kettle at his head.

After this appeared Discours sur la Satyre contre les Philosophes, that is, on Palissot's play. I heard Palissot say, that he believed M. D'Alembert was the author of this piece, but that, whoever he was, the piece was well written. The author inveighs against all personalities on the theatre, and condemns that of Moliere on Comte. He then draws a parallel between the Clouds of Aristophanes and the philosophers of Palissot, and imputes the death of Socrates to the malicious ridicule with which Aristophanes had presented him on the theatre, although the Clouds were acted twenty-three years before Socrates drink the hemlock. He then goes on with an ingenious enumeration of the subjects of the rest of Aristophanes' comedies, and shows that from step to step the licentiousness of his imagination found at last nothing so exalted as to be out of the reach of his despotic satire. There runs throughout a certain air of parallel between principal characters in Paris, and what were such at Athens in the time of Socrates, which parallel is wrought with great address. Voltaire is rebuked for having brought Perton on the stage, under the name of Treron, in the Ecosse.

Reponse aux divers écrits publiés contre la Comédie des Philosophes,
which is likewise entitled,

A parallel of that comedy with the Clouds of Aristophanes, the Merchant of Grislet, and the Licemine & Scavantes of Moliere.

This parallel is rendered long by the exposition of four pieces, and is intended to prove that M. Palissot is nothing indebted to Aristophanes, Moliere, or Grislet; and, above all, that his comedy is very well written.

It is well written, but the question is, whether it ought to have been written?

The author particularly directs his invective against the Discours sur la Satyre contre les Philosophes, as this is the Eegis of his adversaries, and here does he answer by describing Socrates as a very great villain, and Aristophanes as the ablest and honestest man in Athens. What would have become of all our ideas of antiquity, and, may we not add, of morality, had he proved thus!

Indeed he has not

His imputations against Socrates are

That he bribed the Oracle to give him the title of the wisest of men.

That he was a bad paymaster and made use of subtleties to disappoint his creditors.

That he declared himself born of a vicious disposition which he had corrected by philosophy.

That he affected to be the head of a fool, to walk without shoes, to be pale and lean and

That whoever attacks the received religious opinions of a country without proposing better is either a madman or a rebel.

The force of the first two of these objections depends on verifying the fact. Had the fact ever been verified, is it probable that Socrates would have had a temple dedicated to him by the same Athenians who conspired to put him to death?

It is to be decided whether a motive of vanity or the hopes of encouraging his disciples made Socrates declare himself born of vicious disposition. He did not declare this till a discerning eye pronounced absolutely on his physiognomy that it earned marks contrary to his character in life. He then confessed the truth. The world general are perfused that there is no conquering nature no return from vice; and this persuasion is appealed to, to support the Author's defamation of Socrates; but this persuasion is false, and is extremely detrimental to society being alone sufficient to create in most minds the effect which it so confidently affirms.

If he was pale and lean contemplative men are generally so; if he was negligent to a great degree in his dress, that likewise is the character of deep thinking men perhaps he was poor.

Socrates did propose a better system than that of their Mythology to the Athenians, by preaching the adoration of one only God; for which if he was to blame, the first Christians were as mad and as rebellious to the states in which they lived as Socrates was to that of Athens.

But whatever advantage the doctrine of one may have over that of the other Socrates and the Christians both are equally blameless as to their intentions; as both were intimately persuaded of the truth of the goodness, and of the necessity of the systems which they promulgated and acted alike from different views.

* * * * *

La Comédie Laromoyote of the French may perhaps be translated into English with some propriety by the expression 'The Pathetic Comedy'; such is evidently in our language, The Confessors Lovers.

Le Café ou L'Ecclâise par M. de Voltaire, published in 1760, is of this kind and wonderfully affecting. Voltaire humorously pretends, that he has translated it from a comedy written by Mr Hume the minister brother to Mr Hume celebrié par son iniquité and, in consequence, in his preface gives an advantageous character of his piece with the same indifference as if he was not the author.

of it, but this character is so just, that no other can be properly given of it He says,

"This comedy appears to be one of those works which will succeed in all languages, because the author paints nature, which is every where the same. He has the simplicity of the estimable Goldoni, with perhaps more intrigue, more force and interest. The unravelling of the plot, the character of the heroine, and that of Ircourt, resemble nothing that we know on the stage, and yet are they nature itself. This piece appears a little in the taste of those English romances which have had so much success. The touches are the same, the same painting of the manners, nothing studied, no attempt to be witty, and miserably to shew the author, when nothing but the characters ought to be shewn. Nothing foreign to the subject, none of those unmeaning strings of sounding words, the constant attempt, and the unsailing reproach, of the author who begins to learn to write none of those trivial maxims which fill up the void of the action."

Mons de Voltaire, in his own, might have found exceptions to the censure that he passes on the French comedies. He has never deviated from nature, in Nanine, L'Enfant Prodigue, &c.

He says in another part of his preface

"What strikes us strongly in this piece, is, that the unities of time, place, and action, are scrupulously observed in it."

So they are, but, in order to obtain the unity of place, he has given a very extensive and a very uncommon construction to his coffee-house. This and one or two expressions of the persons who frequent it for news, are all the defects that I see in it.

M Voltaire continues :

"It has moreover this merit, rare with the English as with the Italians, that the theatre is never void. Nothing is more common, or more shocking, than to see two actors go off the stage, and two others come in their place, without being called, without being expected. This insupportable defect is not found in the Ecossaise.

"As to the species in which this comedy is to be ranked, it is of the higher comedy mixed with the simple. The good man smiles at it with that smile of the soul preferable to the broadest laugh of mirth. There are passages that soften us even to tears, but yet without any person's endeavouring to be pathetic, for as true pleasantry consists in not intending to be pleasant, so he who moves you does not think of giving you emotion. he is no rhetorician, every thing proceeds from the heart. Woe to him who endeavours in any kind whatsoever!"

He says in another part

"What is very important, is, that this comedy is of an excellent moral, and worthy of the gravity of the priesthood with which the author is vested, without losing any thing of what may please the public in general."

And here let it be said, in honour of M Voltaire's dramatic works, that no

winter for the theatre has rendered virtue more unstable, and the subjection to our passions more dreadful.

If the quotations that I have made from M. Voltaire's preface were represented as a criticism on the Ecoiffaise there is nobody but would confess in the impartiality of it—but nobody would suspect that it was the author giving praises to his own work—Voltaire who accomplishes every thing, has done this without hurting us.

It remains to speak of Freron: This man—the author of Literary Journals at Paris, *Un homme de lourde Mœve qui sur la plume a foulé la Couine*, has vilified Voltaire as Voltaire says he has heard from those who read his Journals; and he retaliates by making him appear on the stage under the name of Freron, Wasp in the character *Facelam latior an informer and a dace* H. apologises for Mr. Hume bringing such a wretch on the stage; but he justifies him by saying, "that his Wasp appears only those moments when the interest is not yet become lively and touchy; imitating those painters who paint toad-hair, or a viper in a corner of their pictures, while they prefer to the capital figures all the nobleness of their characters."

In this happy simile we discover the hand of the great master while he seems to be only sporting with his pencil.

There is another stroke still more happy

"These subaltern Aretines get their bread by speaking and doing evil, under the pretence of being useful to letters;

"As if the caterpillars that gnaw the fruits and flowers could be of use to them."

In October 1760, Mr Orme arrived in London, and soon afterwards purchased a house which was then building in Harley street, Cavendish square. Here he began to collect his elegant and valuable library comprising the most choice editions of the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and English authors, and also to accumulate materials, regardless of labour or expense, for the completion of his

History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan, from the year 1745" which he had long meditated. These materials, printed and manuscript, he had begun to collect soon after his arrival in India in 1742. In arranging and forming them into an historical composition he was occupied upwards of two years (n)

In

(n) Mr Orme had frequently to leave the west for Oriental collections of manuscripts and printed books in this country; for affording that information on Indian affairs, the expense and labour of obtaining which was oppressive in the extreme when

In August 1763, the first volume of the History was published, and the reception that it met with, was well calculated to gratify his expectation of literary fame. This volume contained a particular account of the affairs of India, down to the commencement of the war between the English and French in 1756, and communicated more real information respecting that extensive country, than all the books that had been published prior to its time. The plans of the battles, sieges, &c taken by the chief engineers, by which the history is illustrated, are highly valuable, but the maps especially, as being improved from the actual marches of the British and French armies. To this volume our author prefixed a concise Historical Dissertation on the Mahomedan Conquests and Establishments in Indostan, comprising a review of the peculiar character and customs of the Hindu people. Having little or no acquaintance with the learned languages of Asia, and being therefore denied access to some important authorities on those complicated subjects, he was led into a few misconceptions, which, however, were very excusable, as there did not exist, at the time when he wrote, any translations from Asiatic writers into the European languages relative to the political history and civil institutions of Indostan. His account of the Hindus appears to have been principally derived from his own actual observations, and is in general so accurate, and written with such clearness and simplicity, that we think it better calculated to convey to European readers a distinct idea of the general character and habits of those people, than almost any of the more recent productions on that subject. With respect to the early Mahomedan conquests, his principal guides were D'Herbelot, and other the most authentic authorities he could meet with, he is therefore for the most part correct so far as relates to the Ghaznian and Taitai conquerors, but regarding the subsequent establishment of the Mogul dynasty, as well as the history of its progress, and the institutions of its most renowned princes, his account is occasionally erroneous and defective,

when undertaken by private individuals. The establishment of such a library, he observed, would be a national honour, the expense of which would be trivial, in comparison with the advantage that must accrue from it. He used to add, that a ship's cargo of original and valuable MSS might be collected in the settlements between Delhi and cape Comorin.

fective of which he seems to have been aware by the subsequent publication of the *Historical Fragments* in this volume. His history of the wars in the Carnatic, however has not been more celebrated than it deserves, for the fidelity impartiality and accuracy of its details. The critique on this volume in the *Annual Register* for the year 1764 is very explicit, and deserves to be transcribed.

The manners and characters of the various people who inhabit the great empire of Indostan the peculiarities of their religion and their policy and the astonishing events which have lately happened in that part of the world have rendered the history of the wars in India an object of general curiosity. The great interest we have still in that empire always as a trading, lately as a conquering people, will make a proper narration of our former proceedings there matter of the most useful instruction. The author of this work has gratified this curiosity and communicated this instruction. No historian seems to have been more perfectly informed of the subject on which he has undertaken to write; and very few have possessed more fully the talent of impressing it, in the clearest and most vivid manner on the imagination and understanding of his reader. In this work the events are fully prepared; the characters strongly delineated; and the situations well described. It is no uncommon thing to find in ordinary writers more of the confusion than of the life and spirit of the fight in their descriptions of an engagement. But nothing can be more clear and satisfactory than the whole detail of military transactions which we find in this contest. Whether the march or the retreat the attack or the defence the encampment or the battle every thing is drawn with accuracy and precision, in great detail, but without any thing tedious. In these particulars Polybius will be scarcely thought to exceed him.

* It must be observed likewise to his honour that there reigns through the whole work an air of disinterestedness and of freedom from all passion and prejudice public or private. The Frenchman who acts gallantly or wisely finds as much justice done to his actions and his conduct as any of the author's countrymen. The same impartiality seems to have been observed in regard to all personal connections. This volume does not carry the war farther than 1755. It were to be wished that the author may finish what he has begun in so promising a manner.

Having by this publication introduced himself to the world with so much advantage our author became solicitous to support and advance his literary reputation by storing his mind with a competent knowledge of the ancient classics which he knew to be essential, not only

officer thought himself under such obligations to Mr Orme, for the precision and impartiality with which he had recorded his actions in the first volume that, upon his going to France in 1773, the general invited him to his country seat, where he treated him with elegant hospitality and furnished him with several authentic documents; among which were a curious narrative of his own transactions and a draft of the route of his various marches about Golcondah, Hyderabad, and in the northern provinces the latter of which is inserted in the present volume.

In June 1773 Mr Orme published a second edition of his first volume with considerable improvements and the following letter from the afterwards celebrated Sir William Jones, was sent in acknowledgment of a present of that volume

" DEAR SIR,

" Duke Street June 26 1773.

" I was never less pleased with the study of the law than at this moment, when my attendance in Westminster Hall prevent me from thanking you in person for your most elegant and acceptable present, which shall ever be preferred amongst my literary treasures. Your history is not one of those books which one reads once in a cursory manner and then throws aside for ever; there is a end of reading and approving it, nor shall I ever desist giving myself that pleasure to the last year of my life. You may rely on this testimony as it comes from one who not only was never guilty of flattery but, like Caesar's wife would never suffer himself to be suspected of it.

" It is much to be regretted that the historical pieces of Læcetius are not preserved to us; by a letter or two of his which are extant he seems to have been a man of equal parts and taste. Cicero declares himself charmed with his way of writing which makes me think that his works would have been preferable to those of Sallust and Tacitus, whom I cannot help considering as the first corruptors of the Roman language and eloquence. As to our language if yourself and perhaps lord Lyttelton had not restored it to its native simplicity we should soon have been reduced to talk a new dialect, &c. &c. &c.

* * * * *

" I have been for the last five weeks at Oxford where I took the degree of Master of Arts in the regular course. I was most pressed to speak at the ensuing Eusebian; but when I had taken the pains to prepare an oration, in which there was nothing that could offend the most obsequious courtier the persons, who had urged me to write it, were disappointed in not finding it of sufficient compliment to the master and exhorted me not to deliver it in the theatre without a great deal of fustaining; which determined me not to speak at all but as I am

pleas'd

OF THE AUTHOR.

xxxv

pleased with the composition, which is written wholly in the manner of the Ancients, I shall print a few copies for my friends

" See the loquacity of us lawyers, you honour me with three kind and indulgent lines, and I send you in return as many rambling pages but when friends cannot converse in person, they have no resource but conversing at a distance

I am, with great truth,

Most sincerely yours,

W JONES"

Our Author had previously been requested by Dr. William Robertson, the historian, to favour him with a copy of this volume, as we find by the following Epistle.

" DEAR SIR,

" College of Edinburgh, April 23 1773

" I shall be happy to hear that you still enjoy that more confirmed state of health in which I had last the pleasure of seeing you. What progress do you make? I hope you do not relax your ardour in carrying on your work, and that if the present age may not expect to peruse the history of those extraordinary transactions you have seen, you will not deprive posterity of that satisfaction. I go on as usual, slowly. I have got many useful and uncommon books from Spain, and expect some manuscripts by the interest of lord Grantham. I flatter myself the work will turn out curious and interesting. Allow me to put you in mind of two promises, one, that you would give me some criticisms or strictures upon style, in some parts of my history, the other, that you would send me a copy of the last edition of your first volume. I wish for the former, as I shall certainly profit by the ideas of one who has attended so much to the purity and elegance of language, and for the latter, that it may remain as a monument, with my son, of a connection, of which I shall say no more, than that I am solicitous it should be remembered. In the meantime believe me to be, with most sincere respect,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate and faithful

humble servant,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON."

In December of the same year, we find Mr Orme writing to James Alexander, esq (afterwards earl of Caledon) an account of his tour to France, from which we extract the following passage

" MY DEAR ALEXANDER,

" Dec 1773

" I have not received a letter from you since the arrival of general Smith — I went with him this year to Spa, we left London the 15th July. We separated

at Brussels; he to return directly to London where his own affairs called him and I to go to Paris, where I had many books to buy concerning the French affairs in India, and many questions to ask Mr. Buffoy. I succeeded to my wish in both these intentions. My stay at Paris was from the 1st October to the 1st November; and on the 8th I was again my friends in Harley-street, where, as you may naturally imagine, I find no where else. Nevertheless, I am much pleased with having undertaken this journey; and nothing but the excessive expence of travelling, to an invalidish man, should prevent me from making more of these excursions; for the ideas obtained by travelling, of places manners, customs, &c. cannot be gained by any other means; but my fortune forbids.—We made excursions from Spa to the Rhine, and crossed that famous river &c. &c.

* * * * *

The letter from which we transcribe the following passages, bears testimony to Mr. Orme's anxiety for accurate information

" Hon^{ble} Warren Hastings Esq

" SIR

" Harley Street, Jan 24, 1775.

" The educated world have received with the greatest satisfaction the portion you have sent of the laws of Bengal, and earnestly wish the continuation and accomplishment of a work which does you so much honour. I always thought that such a work must be the basis of any reasonable government exercised by us; but always despaired of its execution knowing to what other views and objects the abilities of Europeans have hitherto been directed in Indostan. The silent step of philosophy is gaining ground every day; and your name will not be forgot amongst the foremost of her disciples for the valuable present you are making to learning and reason. I have read I may say have extracted every thing that has come into England concerning the affairs and revolutions of Delli, from the invasion of Radj Schah () but all I can make out is patch-work. What a present would you make to me, by procuring for me a full and continued detail of these events, which are always blending themselves with my story

* * * * *

" I earnestly wish the continuance of your health, and every other facility to carry on the important affairs of the government in which you preside with so much disinterestedness; and am with the truest esteem

Sir

Your most obedient

and most humble servant,

R. ORME.

In

() Suppose Nadir Shah.

In 1775, our author published a very copious Index, and several considerable additions, to the first volume of his history, and of the eagerness which the public manifested for his second volume, we have a hint in a letter, dated Dec 30, 1776

" To C—— F——, Esq

" MY DEAR SIR,

" Harley-street, Dec 30, 1776

" A stone-cutter might copy all the letters that I write in a year, witness my five lines to you by a man of war, witness, I fear, this But when you consider that no man sees my face, or squeezes my hand, without " Ah ! Mr Orme, when shall we have your second volume ?" you will account for the employment of my pen, and in the small portion of writing my health is able to endure, *

* * * * *

" I hope your health supports itself, and Mrs F——'s continues, for the rest, I hope I need make no wishes which are not anticipated by fortune in favour of your merit I shall write you again and again, but now adieu, my good friend, for a few days.

R O"

At length, in October 1778, the second volume was published, in two parts, illustrated like the former with numerous Maps, Views, Plans of Towns, Battles, &c the latter drawn by the Chief Engineer, Mr Call^t. It is written with no less ability than the first volume, and is more interesting and comprehensive. It investigates the rise and progress of the English commerce in Bengal, gives an account of the Mahomedan government from the year 1200, when it was first established there, and carries on the general history from the calamity which befel the English settlements in 1756, to the peace of 1763.

During the fifteen years that elapsed between the publication of his first and that of his second volume, our author gained much additional and more accurate knowledge of the history and institutions of the Mogul government, and the other native states. Colonel Dow's version of Ferishta's History of Northern Indostan, published in the course of that time, served perhaps to elucidate his researches, though, being defective as a translation in many parts, it has occasionally mis-

led

led

led him (x) But, as has been well observed, 'for adopting the mistakes of his authorities, he cannot justly be blamed as there was no reason to suspect, and he possessed not the means to detect them. They do not therefore impeach the general accuracy of his narrative nor lessen the credit which it has so justly obtained.'

In a few days after the publication of his second volume Mr Orme received the following letter from Dr Robertson.

DEAR SIR

" C. Illego of Edinburgh, Oct. 22 1778

" During the course of this summer I have expected from week to week to hear that you had fixed time for setting out on your excursion to Scotland. I cannot express how much I am interested to find that now there remains no hope I enjoy of the pleasure of seeing you here for this season. I flatter myself that this disappointment of our expectation has not been occasioned by ill health. As I know how much attention is paid to every thing that comes from your hand the publication of our second volume encourages me to hope that you have been in trim enough health to imperceptibly. I long with patience to peruse this volume. This period will be full noise in the following year for me too! The events are greater and more splendid as well as productive of more important consequences. The subject becomes more worthy of being adorned by your pen. According to your desire I send to you by the first opportunity the imperfect copy you gave me of the first volume and I will accept from you, with great pleasure, copy of both volumes. I am fond of it being known to my descendants, that you and I lived in friendship with mutual esteem and love.

My son, i. lord Macleod's regiment is still in Jersey; but the corps is under orders for India, and is expected soon at Spithead, in order to sail with the first fleet. If the young man be allowed to fit London I will direct him to pay his respects to you; but in case he should not have time or permission to make that excursion I hope you will get ready the recommendatory letters with which you kindly promised to favour him. I am told that it is most likely the regiment will be stationed at Bombay or Madras; but as its destination must be regulated by the state of the country when it arrives in India letters for Calcutta may be materially useful. But you can judge with respect to this better than a person so far

(x) On the first publication of Sir Dow Mbon's Ferishta History of the Mahomedan Conquerors i. Indiam, its authenticity was doubted by Dr Johnson, Mr Burke and others. Mr Orme defended it, and in the most forcible manner, for having given a copy of it to the signal Persian young gentleman then residing in his house and well skilled in the Persian language, translated two or three pages of it for their perusal; which removed the scruples that they had before entertained.

far distant from intelligence When I hear of my son's arrival at Spithead, I will take the liberty of informing you how your letters may be conveyed to him. From the accounts I have got of his behaviour in the regiment, I flatter myself that you may recommend him to your friends as a young man who promises to act like a gentleman I arewell, my dear sir, and believe me to be, with sincere respect,

Your affectionate and
faithful servant,
WILLIAM ROBERTSON"

The transmission of the work to the Doctor, we find thus acknowledged in a letter which accompanied a present, in return, of his History of Charles the Fifth

" College of Edinburgh, February 1st, 1781

" MY DEAR SIR,

" I do believe that no two persons, who have so much reciprocal good-will as you and I, are less disposed to break in upon each other by expressing it I wish we both possessed a little more of the spirit of the French *façans*, and then our letters would be as frequent as now they are rare To this natural disinclination to writing of letters, I hope you will be kind enough to impute my neglecting to think you in proper time for the present of your two new volumes I perused them with great eagerness, and much satisfaction I can say nothing more expressive of my entire approbation, than that they equal the first The contest in the second part is between parties not so equally matched, the vicissitudes of fortune are less singular, but wherever the subject admitted of it, your narrative carries your readers along, with all that interesting and unwandering attention, which distinguishes your mode of writing history I incline to think, that *the war of Bengal*, in Books vi and vii is the most choice *morceau* in your works When I see you, I will venture to mention one or two little criticisms, for where there is so much to praise, you can afford something to be blamed

" My youngest son will have the honour of presenting this letter to you It is my fate to be the father of a military family Of three sons, two have chosen to be soldiers, the second is now in Madras, and carried out your kind recommendations to some of your friends The youngest goes, as I imagine, to the same place By the favour of Mr Jenkinson, and the friendship of col Iul-lerton, I have got him a lieutenant's commission in the colonel's regiment Though I am unwilling to load my friends with my children, I cannot allow the young man to go out unrecommended, to a station whether his brother carried out so many warm letters in his favour If any of your friends in that presidency can be of use to him, I have such experience of your kindness, that I know you will recommend him to their good offices, and will give the

the young adventurer your best advices as to his conduct. I hope he has good sense and virtue enough to profit by them. I make no apology for the liberty I use with you who have accustomed me to expect what is friendly from your hands.

"I met with an unlearned friend of yours, general Richard Smith at Boston, and was much pleased with his frank vigorous, decisive spirit. It so good as to present my best compliances to him. I remember his kind invitation, and do expect from him a better dinner than any we had" — the *Hall*. I am ever with great truth and attachment,

Your faithful humble Servant,
WILLIAM ROBERTSON

At this time Mr Orme lived chiefly in London, and associated much with literary men among whom he sometimes met Dr Johnson, of whose wonderful intellectual powers and impressive wit he was struck with a just admiration. Talking one day with Mr Boswell of Johnson's "Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland," he thus strongly expressed his opinion of it. "It is," said he "a most valuable book. Besides extensive philosophical views and lively descriptions of society in the country that it describes, it contains thoughts, which, by long revolution in the great mind of Johnson have been formed and polished like pebbles rolled in the ocean."

In Boswell's Life of Johnson, than which it would be difficult to name a work of more rational entertainment, we find it mentioned, that in another conversation relative to Johnson, Mr Orme said "I do not care on what subject Johnson talks but I love better to hear him talk than anybody. He either gives you new thoughts, or a new colouring. It is a shame to the nation, that he has not been more liberally rewarded. Had I been George the Third and thought as he did about America, I would have given Johnson 500/- a year for his Taxation no Tyranny alone." I repeated this to Johnson (says Mr Boswell) who was much pleased "with such praise from such a man as Orme."

Another time our author observed of a certain gentleman "It is not, perhaps, a bad expression, to say that A—— has wit enough to fright a man out of his wits."

Having heard that a certain marshal, Villars, or Saxe or some other had died, after a battle in which he lost a great number of men,

"Ce n'est plus qu'against leurs gorges coupées à Paris!"

he remarked, that, "whoever the gentleman was, he deserved that instant to add one more to the number of deaths which he treated with so much contempt—unless he was drunk."

We shall only adduce one more instance of the promptitude of Mr Orme's mind, and the cneigy of his colloquial diction. Being engaged in a conversation respecting certain internal fortifications carrying on in England, he observed, that "it was the Eagles leaving their nests, to be defended by Magpies."

A man capable of expressing himself with such force and precision, is naturally fond of company, and if he be of an ingenuous disposition, takes delight in associating with superior minds. While Mr Orme, therefore, enjoyed a good state of health, much of his time was spent in that agreeable and instructive way he did not, however, neglect his literary labours.

In 1781, he published a third edition, still further improved, of the first volume of his History, with a very ample Index, perhaps the most perfect thing of the kind that has ever been printed, the history of each person or place mentioned in the work being briefly traced in chronological order, and exhibited at one view. A similar Index was afterwards intended for the second volume a copy was prepared, and the words selected for the purpose, but his health beginning to decline, he could neither muster courage nor strength enough to complete it.

In 1782, appeared another most laborious work of Mr Orme's, though comprised within an octavo volume we mean his "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, of the Morattoes, and of the English Concerns in Indostan, from the year 1659." That we have not miscalled this a most laborious work, will, we think, be conceded to us, when the reader considers the arduous research into printed books, old records, and personal information, that is implied by the notes historical and geographical, and more particularly by the LIST OF AUTHORITIES appended to the present volume, immediately preceding the Index.

To this work he gave the humble title of "Fragments," with the hope of obtaining farther information respecting that important period in the history of the East. "The degradation," says he, "to which the sovereignty of the Moguls was at this time (1758) reduced,

in every province of their dominion proceeded from evils which had been increasing ever since the death of Aurangzebe and cannot be developed without a general view of his reign, as well as the reigns of his successors. This period comprises one hundred years. The events, if we had acquired the knowledge of them in time would have formed a proper introduction to the later portion of history which we have already published and the narrative they require is too extensive to find place as an insertion in the continuation of that work. We therefore give it apart, and only in the character of Fragments, which the want of more materials disables us from disposing into a more regular form."—Again "We are not without hopes, that some of the many in India, who have the means, will supply the portions of information which are deficient in these Fragments, and must otherwise always continue out of our reach. The knowledge is well worth the inquiry for besides the magnitude of the events, and the energy of the characters, which arise within this period, there are no States or Powers on the Continent of India, with whom our nation have either connexion or concern, who do not owe the origin of their present condition to the reign of Aurangzebe, or to its influence on the reigns of his successors. In another part he says, "Besides the publications we have enumerated, we have gained information concerning Sevagi, and of events to a later period concerning the early times of the Morattoes, from cotemporary records belonging to the East India Company. The earliest which mentions Sevagi is of the year 1671. Could we have discovered the whole series with the collateral branches of correspondence, from the year 1650, the Fragments we now publish would have acquired some authentic additions but the labour would have exceeded the conception of any of our readers, excepting the keeper of the records at the India House"—His account of the famous Sevagi, the founder of the present nation of the Morattoes, is extremely curious and interesting. This man drew his lineage from the Rajahs of Chitor, who boast their descent from Porus, and are esteemed the most ancient establishment of Hindoo princes, and the noblest of the Rajpoot tribes.

Preparatory to the compiling of these "Fragments," Mr Orme thought it useful to renew his acquaintance with the Portuguese Spanish,

Spanish, Dutch, and Italian languages, that he might consult in the originals the numerous writers of those nations who have treated of India. His library, indeed, was a strong indication of his extensive acquirements and correct taste in every path of literature, not only as it contained the choicest editions of all the classic authors, ancient and modern, but as having many of them enriched with notes of his own hand-writing in the respective languages of their authors—in fact, he seems scarcely ever to have read a book without making some remarks in the margin, tending either to correct error, give force to argument, or extend information.

But to an author of Mr Orme's accuracy in matters of historical detail, this was not sufficient. It would naturally occur to him, that the subordinate sphere in which Europeans were placed, who visited Asiatic countries in the course of the 17th century, either as merchants, or travellers, or adventurers for employment in the service of the native Princes, could but ill qualify them to obtain correct information with regard to the courts where they arrived, and he seriously felt the deficiency of his materials, arising from his want of access to the more authentic source of Eastern writers. This deficiency, however, was in a great measure supplied by the frequent intercourse which he had about that period with his friend Mr Boughton Rouse, of Rouse Lench in Worcestershire, M.P., now Sir Charles Rouse Boughton, Bart. (y), who, to a high reputation for Oriental learning, and knowledge of the financial and political concerns of India, united a readiness of communication, which is in various parts of the "Fragments" acknowledged by our Author in the highest terms of compliment. From this gentleman he received many extensive translations out of the Ayeen Achary, the General and Provincial Histories of Ferishta, the particular histories of the Reigns of several of the Mogul Emperors, and other Persian Manuscripts, of which he possessed a large collection, with some, more particularly curious, from a compendium of Hindoo and Mahomedan History, under the title of Meezân Dâneš, or balance of knowledge, presented to him when at the Court of the Emperor Shah Allum, by the Author,

who

(y) Many years Chief Secretary of the Board of Control for Indian Affairs, and now one of the Commissioners for auditing the Public Accounts of the Kingdom.

who was a very intelligent Bramin, deputed thither in a public capacity by Rajah Janoji Bhonsle. Mr Orme availed himself of some of these materials in his "Historical Fragments;" and such as he obtained subsequent to that publication, he arranged in his own interleaved copy so as to contribute to the improvement of the edition which we now present the public.

This was the last work which Mr Orme committed to the press. But his search after information was unremitting and he pursued it under circumstances of languid health so as to deprive him of the advantages of air and exercise. At length, his constitution, naturally weak, became so much impaired by his continual application to study and the sedentary life which he consequently led, that he was obliged to confine himself at home, and observe very regular habits; such, however, was his love of literary society that he seldom denied himself to any one who called on him.

When the dreadful news arrived of the loss of the Grosvenor India-man, in which his nephew and his family were passengers, it so extremely affected Mr Orme that it was a long time before even his superior mind could be reconciled to the event. In a letter to a friend, he says, "My wretched health has been more impaired by this shock which for many days left me almost in a state of stupidity!" He also notices the misfortune in the following letter to Sir William Jones, then at Calcutta:

"MY DEAR SIR

" Harley-street, March 10 1784.

" You will have no doubt that I heard with great pleasure of your safe arrival at Madras; nor that my wishes equally accompany you to Bengal, where I hope & trust that you and lady Jones are established entirely to your satisfaction."

" I make no doubt but all your vacations are employed in Oriental researches. As to the living manners of the people you are among no one ever went with more full ideas previously acquired.—Nevertheless, every opening day will present new circumstances and qualities to your attention and the same will happen in the natural appearance of the country; and these contemplations will, I am persuaded for a while afford you more grateful amusements in the hour of relaxation, than all the magnificent repasts of Calcutta. When you have an hour's leisure you will think of me and give me some account of the literature you may discover

discover I sadly want a history of Bahadur Schah (*a*); and Kerr, in his account of the Morattoes, says there is such a history.

"I must now ask your pardon, and permission to speak on a matter which affects me to the very heart. The sad fate of the ship Grosvenor will have reached India long before this letter. My nephew, Mr Hosea (*aa*), his wife and child [*i* daughter], were among those who got ashore, and I have heard of them to the 10th day after the wreck, but beyond, to this hour, nothing. Capt D'Auvergne, who arrived about two months ago from the Cape, says, there were accounts of more white people inland when he came away, but two ships, a Dane and a Frenchman, had been lost on the same coast, and nearly on the same part of it, since the Grosvenor, so that I am almost without hope of his safety. I am one of his attorneys in England, and he has three children under our care, a boy and two girls, the eldest ten years old (*bb*). Nobody knows any thing of my will of Mr. Hosea being deposited in England, but it is scarcely possible that he should have left Bengal without making one, and leaving at least a duplicate of it in India."

"I request my respects, although unknown, to Lady Jones. Pardon the hand of an amanuensis, my own troubles and my head pain me, for it is only a few days since I came down to my working-parlour, after a confinement of thirty in my bedchamber, and I am still very infirm. May health and every other good always attend you, is the sincerest wish of,

Dear Sir, Your faithful and affectionate friend,

R. ORME."

In 1792 Mr Orme left London, and retired to Ealing for the benefit of his health, where he resided during the remainder of his life, continuing, nevertheless, to take a warm and lively interest not only in the concerns of his friends, but also in public affairs.

In the year 1793, we find the two following letters from Mr Orme to general Richard Smith

"Great Ealing, Saturday, Aug 10, 1793

"I was yesterday prevented, by various calls to which I was obliged to pay attention, from having the quiet hour I always wish to have when I am writing to you."

"The

(*a*) See p 308, and Military Transactions in Indostan, vol 1 p 19, 20

(*aa*) Mr William Hosea, nephew, and nearest relative to Mr Orme

(*bb*) The son, William, died a few years ago at Bengal, in the service of the Hon the East India Company. One daughter is now married to heat-col Sharpe, of his Majesty's service, and the other to John Betsworth Trevanion, Esq

" The French Histories I have read, exclusive of *Mémoires*, are, Daniel, Nezan, and Henault.

" Nezan wrote first; it is in three huge folios. The second edition in folio has left out many passages which were in the first, which makes the first edition rare and valued by book-sellers. His style is strong and often sharp. When he published his first volume (the 1st edition) it was said *Il n'y a pas de mal de trop peu.*

" Next comes Daniel, who was a Jesuit, and a man labouring in more than one vineyard. In his history his style is dull often prolix; a great bigot in his relation of the Religious Wars; but a good true royalist, saving his reverence for the Pope. Daniel likewise wrote the *Histoire Françoise* which is an account of the French Military Array and Equipments from the earliest times. This work is done with much diligence and intelligence; therefore very curious; and it must have served them much when ever he gives an account of a campaign to see clearly how things went on. The *Histoire* is 14 or perhaps 16 volumes in quarto. The *Histoire* is only 2 volumes, and has cuts.

" Next comes the President Henault which I think I once sent you, and consequently you have read; but left perchance I let mistake. I shall just mention him. It is an Abridgement by years of the History of France from Charlemagne (if there ever was such a man) to the reign of Louis Quatorze. Henault was President of one of the Parlements of France; a man who used labour to get him. Voltaire, writing to him while drinking fountains of the mineral waters in Germany during a time of war advised him to come back immediately to Paris, to avoid the *Huguenots*, " qui ne font boire que les eaux de Styx " and then invoking the Muse says,

" Ramene à ses amis chrysanthes,
Ramene à ses belles demeures,
Ce bel esprit de tous les temps,
Cet honneur de toutes les heures."

" His style although by the nature of his plan always concise is always elegant; and the best French that I know; his knowledge of the history of France the result of learned inquiry. Not to you, for you know too much to require such a process, but I would advise any young gentleman, who had too much money to require any employment and too much sense to wish to live without some to get the voluminous histories read Henault, and refer to the others as he wished for farther information or elucidation.

" What you wrote to me on the 6th concerning your situation in regard to health shocked me most extremely. However it was some relief to hear that you looked much better and more cheerful than before; and I have just now

written

received the further pleasure of hearing that you had sent for some books, which flatters me with the hopes that you think your spirits likely to be equal to them'

" Great Ealing, Aug 13, 1703

" I thank you kindly for the plan of Serignapatam, and shall preserve it charily for the sake of the author, to whom I tender my best respects. Miss * * * * need not be afraid of its being in other hands, as it is a sketch which shews she will draw very well

" I have read in your Diction's book, it was lent me by Mr Dalrymple, and I was much pleased with it, as containing curious, new, and authentic information. He gives the best reasons that can be pleaded, why the siege of Serignapatam was not continued to the catastrophe of its capture. Nevertheless, from the beginning, and still, I persist in the opinion, that the siege once begun, it ought to have been taken. *Delenda est Carthago*, and we shall soon, perhaps, see that his [Tippoo's] restless and wicked character will reduce us to the necessity of doing all we have done, and have left undone, again, and with more trouble. Another reason with me for his extirpation was, Tippoo's cruelty and perfidy to his English captives. Surnyah Dowlah was destroyed, and Cossm Ally exterminated. The vengeance in such cases ought always to fall on the tyrant, as the first cause. Not but that I told lord Clive, that had I been of his council when he entered Madras, I should have moved to look out for and punish the *Jemadars*, who held up their lights to mock the wretched sufferers in the Black Hole. You see, therefore, that I agree with you in the support you gave administration on the subject of our war with Tippoo.

" You are a much better judge than I can be of our war on the Continent, as knowing the art, and being acquainted with the scenes of operation, and its defences. Dunkirk certainly should be taken, to serve as a marine place d'armes, but still Calais, with a very strong garrison, would be the same to Dunkirk, as Dunkirk is now to Ostend. I never knew, before you told me, that Calais could be sieued. It must therefore remain, I am sorry to think, impregnable. Pray do the sluices to Calais depend on inlets under its command from the sea? Lord Stair used to say, that they who attacked France by Flanders took the bull by the horns. By Dumourier's account, the frontier of Lorraine and Champaign is as strong by nature as the other has been made by art. How much do the present Convention owe to the magnificent ambition and prodigality, as some called it, of Louis the 14th, who left them such a line of barrier as runs along Flanders. Little cost the duke of Marlborough three months, yet Little must be taken, otherwise, on advancing into France, the allies might be inclosed behind by a net. So I see no end of the war, and am wearied with conjectures.

" I have been much surprized at the spirit with which the French have fought since

Since the Revolution "What would old Lawrence (&c) say were he alive? Nevertheless, their original character returned at the storm of the Horn-work of Valenciennes. Under the shade of night, when no man could observe well the behaviour of another they all agreed in quitting their posts or in other words, running away: which shews a want of that real firmness, of which on all occasions they are so fond of boasting."

" When not employed on the necessary duties to myself and friends, much of my time is employed in contemplating the present Revolution in France of which no events in the preceding history of that country could be suggested. Still less the extraordinary change or apparent change in the national character from such frivolity to atrocious barbarity. It is a great misfortune, that they are now civilized savages."

" In future time, this Constitution will produce the most curious and eventful history the world ever saw. You may judge then that I shall with great pleasure read Mirabeau's letters."

" I thank you for the kind offer of Gibbon's second and third Volumes, and will with great pleasure keep them as a memorandum from you."

" God send you a continuance of amendment. The weather here is delicious; and I regret every hour that you cannot breathe it with me. I was on horseback yesterday evening two hours and a half and earnestly wish you could do so too."

The following letter to an intimate friend, toward the close of the year 1794, will show the sentiments that Mr Orme entertained respecting the political situation of Great Britain at that period.

" I owe you an account of the reasons of my long silence since I received your letter of the 20th of last month and why I have not come to town, although, when I wrote you last, I seemed so near it; of this I shall speak first, as of the less importance."

" With

(cc) Major-general Stringer Lawrence; to whose Memory an elegant Monument is placed in Westminster Abbey with the following Inscription written by Mr Orme:

Erected by
 The East India Company
 To the Memory of
 Major-general Stringer Lawrence;
 In Testimony of their Gratitude
 For his Efficient Services
 In the Command of their Forces
 On the Coast of Coromandel,
 From the Year MDCCXLVI. to the Year MDCCCLXVI

" With my fever, all the distressful circumstances which accompanied it were almost removed, yet the fever left me much weakened, but fortunately came on, I know not from what cause, a succession of better sleep for fifteen nights, than I have known these ten years. I could not bring myself to break through this best of medical relief by coming into the rumble of Harley-street, and to this was added the opportunities I have had of riding, which have generally happened every other day, for the by-roads about this place are better than any near London, although the high road is perhaps the very worst. My good sleep was interrupted four or five nights, but it has returned for the last week, therefore I am not to be blamed for continuing here such neighbours as I am willing to be known to, are very civil to me, but as I am never out in the night air, (a caution most necessary to all invalids in the months of November and December,) I cannot be much with them. I find very pleasant companions in my study, (my books,) to whom I can communicate my ideas with as much confidence as I do to you.

" Your letter of the 26th of November, combined with what little I picked up from papers and talk, gave me much matter of reflection, of which every result was ominous, none favourable and I will confess to you, that my mind was gradually getting into a gloominess, unsome and unpleasant to the last degree, and therefore I determined to break through it, by applying myself to a literary pursuit, which should keep me from being absorbed in the politics of the day, of which every aspect is dismal. I knew, if I wrote my thoughts to you, you would have taken the trouble to have given me yours, which, from your situation, would have comprehended many points unknown to me, and I should have laid a burden on you, which, however willingly taken up by you, I felt myself almost ashamed to expect, as it would be a return of ten for one.

" The approaching session of parliament will be more important than any ~~this~~ country ever knew. The question is, whether we shall make peace - or continue the war? and each of these propositions branch out into others that immediately spring from them. With whom shall we treat? the Convention! Can they be trusted? Will they make peace with any other view than to gain two or three years to raise a navy stronger than ours, and then begin with us again? What guarantees either of local powers or sovereign states will be granted to them, or undertaken by their neighbours? What are we to give to induce them (who certainly have the advantage ground at present) to make peace with us? They have got all Flanders, &c. and we have only then West India islands, which it is most likely they think themselves able to re-conquer from us.

" Supposing then that we are obliged to continue the war, in what mode and in what points are we to continue it? Is Flanders to be attacked again? I think our strength quite insufficient. The emperor must join us with at least 120,000 men, will, or can he? The other princes of the empire, will they do more than

LIFE AND WRITINGS

bore out their men to us?—and then will they not do as the king of Prussia has done this year?

" If Holland will accept our support, instead of fraternizing with the French, she must by all means be supported by us. The alliance of Holland with France will be a great increase of naval force to the enemy.

" Should the French obtain Holland they may probably attempt to invade us; but all that they can do, whilst we can meet them at sea in full strength, will be to make descents on our remote coast[s] —but even these will greatly affect our stocks.

" These and many more points you will have to think on at the meeting of parliament. I am confident that you will judge right on all.

" I hope your health continues undisturbed my respects I wish to be acceptable to ——.

" Monday 8th Dec. 1704

In his retirement at Ealing, Mr Orme was often visited by his friends, who appear to have entertained a very warm affection for him particularly Sir George Baker Alexander Dalrymple esq general Richard Smith, John Roberts, esq Mark Beaufoy esq &c. &c. But, as he says himself in the letter last quoted his books were his chief companions and such was the activity of his mind that at the age of 70 he found in them a constant source of amusement. A great many of his books bore interesting evidence of the strict attention with which he perused them their margins as we have before observed being filled with observations in his own hand writing.

In April 1706, having resolved not to return to London except in occasional visits, he disposed of his house in Harley street and sent the principal part of his library (having no convenient place for it in the country) to the hammer of Leigh and Sotheby who found ample employment for a ten days sale. He had, however previously made a selection of his books, which were removed to Ealing, and occupied his mind, whenever his health would permit till the time of his death for he retained all his faculties to the last moment of his existence.

In the beginning of January 1801 he fell into a state of weakness and languor that prognosticated a speedy dissolution and on the 13th of that month he expired, in the 3d year of his age. His remains were interred in a vault prepared for that purpose in the church-yard of

of Bengal, and soon after a neat marble cenotaph to his memory was erected in the church by his friend and executor, Mr. Roberts (late Chairman of the East India Company), with a suitable inscription written by general Rutherford Smith, &c.

Mr. Orme was farewhile above the middle stature, and his countenance expressed much the address and intelligence. In his person it is to be seen as not to have had any striking peculiarity. His general manner was sensible, easy, and polite. Of the qualities of his heart, those who knew him long and intimately speak very highly. He was zealous in the service of those whom he really loved, but, as it was not his custom to make professions of friendship, his acts sometimes surprised expectation. His powers of conversation, above all, were very considerable, and such was the extent of his knowledge, the readiness of his perceptions, and the facility of his expression, that he generally illustrated in a pleasing, often in a forcible manner, whatever subject he undertook. Ancient literature was one of his favourite topics, and he conversed on it with no common degree of learning and critical exactness, without any sort of pedantry or affectation.

With respect to his intellectual character, it would appear, from his life as well as his writings, that the principal features were good sense, sagacity, and judgment. These qualities were fitted in their operation by an active spirit, a solemnis curiosity, and a cultivated taste. A mind thus constituted, readily acquired that power of combining circumstances in lucid order, and of relating them with compellive force, which distinguishes the writings of Mr. Orme. Few, if any, have connected the events of their story with more perspicuity, or related them with more conciseness. If he be sometimes minute, he is never redundant, and never tedious. Every incident is so distinctly stated and clearly arranged, every new nation, or individual, is introduced with so compendious an explanation, all the observations rise from the facts with so much propriety, and are in themselves so forcible and just, and the general style has so much simplicity and terseness, that every reader of discernment and taste must feel a strong interest in perusing his history. It is not indeed

¹ See a copy of the tablet, at the end of this Memoir,

illumined with philosophical views of society or manners, or civil institutions or arts, or commerce nor is it adorned with any fine delineations of character but it is nevertheless a work of great merit, and must continue to hold a high place in the class of historical compositions.

How much the geography of the Peninsula of India is indebted to Mr Orme's indefatigable zeal in the improvement of it, a reference to his maps will abundantly testify. Many hundred places are there laid down, which are not to be found in any other work printed so early as 1782, the date of his last publication, which will be a durable monument of his illustrious cultivation of the science though it is true that with the marches of the various English armies in the Deccan since that period the situations of some places have been more accurately ascertained. If his health had permitted he would, from the records of the Company the British Museum and other sources, have greatly enlarged his *Historical Fragments*, which he intended to have divided into three sections and made an invaluable work of the History of India, from the time of Aurangzebe to the commencement of his Military Transactions in the year 1744. It is to be hoped however that some one will enter with the same zeal and spirit on the subject upon his plan and method toward the accomplishment of which Mr Orme's MSS and other Oriental documents collecting in the India house will furnish them with abundant information.

Most of the places laid down in Mr Orme's various maps were from original MSS drawn from the marches of the different armies he being intimately acquainted with the generals, not only in the English but in the French interests, when the peace rendered such an intimacy with the latter desirable and proper. In 1773, as we have before observed, he made a journey to Pitha, expressly for the purpose of gaining information of this kind but especially to ascertain the situations of places in the northern parts of the Deccan, wherein the French armies had long served under the celebrated count Duffay. Mr Orme's reception by that able commander was worthy of so great a general, and of so enlightened a writer. The map of the various marches of M. Duffay in the northern provinces, about Golcondah, Aurengabad,

Aurangabad, &c inserted at page 2 of this volume, was made from a copy communicated to our author by M. Busti, with the particulars of other military and political transactions during his command in India.

Mr Orme also took particular pains to ascertain the situations of the different inland Marts of the early trade of the British factors dependent on Surat, which are mostly laid down from the records of the Company, as City or Hubel, Gocuck, Colbergia, Malkar, Guduck, Nuttary, Drongom, Chupta, Pinwell, and many others.

At the time of the publication of his "Fragments," Mr Orme had projected an Atlas of the Peninsula of India, to consist of about ten or twelve sheets, of which the two maps inserted in this volume were to have formed a part—but the great improvements then resulting from Major Rennel's Survey of Bengal, and the marches of the British armies in India, prevented his proceeding in so arduous an undertaking.

Mr Orme possessed a very correct taste for Painting and Sculpture, an admirable picture in his possession, of the dreadful storm off Pondicherry, during Colonel Coote's (see) celebrated blockade of that fortress in the year 1761, so pathetically described by our author in the

(see) On the death of this gallant Commander a Monument was erected to his Memory in Westminster Abbey, on which is the following Inscription, composed by Mr Orme

This Monument is erected by
The East India Company,

as a Memorial of the Military Talents of
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B.
Commander in Chief of the British Forces in India
who

By the success of his Arms, in the years 1756, 1757 and 1758, 1759,
Expelled the French from the Coast of Coromandel

In 1759, 1760 and 1761, 1762

He again took the Field in the Carnatic,

In opposition to the united Strength of the French and Hyder Ally,
And, in several Engagements, defeated the numerous Forces of the latter

But Death interrupted his career of glory

On the xxiiith day of April 1763, 1764,
In the Fifty-eighth year of his Age

the second volume of his History was principally designed by himself and the celebrated Athenian Stuart, and painted by Wilkins, from a small sketch made on the spot by major Rennel and is considered by artists as an excellent production (ff). It is well known, that Sir Joshua Reynolds condescended to receive hints from Mr Orme of some of his most delicate and beautiful touches, both in figures and drapery. For many years after the establishment of the Royal Academy he was a regular attendant on the exhibitions, and often expressed the gratification of his feelings on contemplating the progress of the fine arts in England.

He was also exceedingly fond of Music, of which he was an excellent judge thus led him to be a frequent attendant at the Opera but he was more especially attached to the sublime compositions of the immortal Handel.

That he was a Poet also of some talent, the few following specimens may attest being hasty effusions, made without effort, and never designed by their author to face the public eye except, perhaps, the *Address to the Moon* (p. lxi.) which was set to Music and greatly admired.

March 1745-6.

O D E

The Hint taken from Horace, B. i O & Lydia dic per Omnes.

L

Will quite the Langman's oath the joyful chase?
Why thunders not his chariot at the ride?
Why is no more the nervous wielder crown'd?
Why tempts he not the sprightly coarser bound?

IL

Once the fond plain bore his superior knew
To dart the lance or bend the twanging yew;
None in the course outstripp'd his headlong speed,
None urg'd with bolder art the rapid fleet.

The

(ff) This picture was given by Mr Orme to the publisher of the present volume.

" Adore with cruel zest the eyes,
 " Thy wanton god of tortures, pangs, and sighs ;
 " But ever lose the hour of ease
 " Which I alone could ever teach to please "
 Vain is adviser experience or n
 The willing slave is run d without his chain.
 Almost two twelve months now are past,
 Since Lydia sold the tyrant of my breast.
 The joys o f friends, the sacer of foes,
 Perplex d not ear d my fondly nourish d woes.
 The Gleat gare the languid eye
 Fetch d from my immo l heart the heaving sigh,
 Betray d dissimulation's mien,
 And all the lover all the stretch was seen
 But when the heart-expanding bowl
 Pour'd forth each cautious secret of my soul
 To you my best and best-lov d friend
 Found my sick heart as well as health to mend,
 I wept the melancholy tale
 Nor blis s'd manly sorrows to reveal ;
 This tyrant passion lords alone
 And bears no rival near his cruel throne ;
 Else rage for odeserv d disdain,
 For all the stud y d triumphs oer my pain,
 Or scorn to see unequal worth,
 The affluent dulness of some son of earth,
 Prefer'd to spirit, parts, and sense
 If riches fail to gild the fair preceptee,
 Long since had made me quit the field,
 And to my nearer rivals proudly yield.
 While then I talk d with brow severe,
 You fondly anxious to retrieve each care,
 Advis'd long absence for my cure
 And urg'd the means its anguish to endure
 But all that reason could suggest
 Was lost amidst the tempests of my breast :
 I still dragg'd on th alternate chain
 Of Love Dislike, of Passion and Disdane.
 Now Chloe reigns without control,
 The charming mistress of my soul.

This vengeance injur'd Venus shall prepare
 To show that love not lost can claim her care;
 Then from thy cheek shall fade the lively bloom
 Nor more thy eye its sparkling life assume;
 In vain thy wiles shall plot the happy hour
 While loathing leaves from thy dang'rous doer;
 No simple youth shall heed th' guileful talk,
 And each increasing will no more avail.

THE TRAIN OF VENUS

Godress of Paphos and the Lesbian Isle
 Queen of the blooming cheek and dimpled smile
 Oh! deign for once to let thy Cypris mourn,
 While thousand altars blaze for thy return;
 Ta Lydia calls, O! bear her raptur'd tow
 And bid her incense with thy influence glow

She comes and smiling leads the fervent boy
 Who gives to gods and mortals all their joy
 With zones unloosed the Graces next appear
 Their blooming forms ne'er breath'd so soft an air;
 The Nymphs around in decent measures move
 But more regardful of the Queen of Love.

See sprightly Youth of blooming years too vain
 Exulting step the foremost of the train;
 She leads Nymphs now by the litter's sides
 Health, conscious favorite of the gentle Queen;
 The smiles of Venus all their movements crown
 She gives the grace the beauty all her own.

But see aloof a Youth of form divine
 Lively he look but threatening fly design;
 Thro' all the affected caution of his brow
 All his eyes betray his conscious glow;
 Him shun ye Nymphs, beware his gentle smile,
 His wreathed arts, fascinating wiles,
 His soft address has too pernicious sense
 Confess the dang'rous god of Eloquence

ADDRESS TO THE MOON

Written at Madras, 1757

Snowy silver Moon, go hither down the skies,
 It's the bow where I've my Quiver set,
 No midnight tempest thy trembling star
 To quench her flame, 'tis to the dangerous prey,
 Never fear, it's long I've waited for
 After thy pale face to wash the venerable bier,
 The bier of white-poll'd Indian mow,
 Now all the earth is laid in ashes bare,
 I need no other shelter than the sun,
 Shalt yield me boughs to cover, to the light of
 Snowy Silver Moon, and I'll sit on the trees,
 Like the dove of happy Lucifer.

—

* * A collection of manuscript poems, written by our Author, and corrected on a subsequent revision, is known to exist, which, probably, he may have lent to some friend. If the possessor of it would give the goodness to lend it to the publisher of this volume, that copy may be taken for the use of any future edition; it would be esteemed a great favour.—It is a small volume *in octavo*, bound in Morocco leather.

Mr Orme likewise wrote, at Madras, a poem on the death of his friend Admiral Wilson, 15th August 1757. It was penned on a blank leaf in one of his printed books, which, probably, was sold when his library was disposed of, in 1796. If the purchaser of such volume would permit a copy to be taken, the publisher would be greatly obliged to him.

— —

Among

Among Mr Orme's papers was found the commencement of a prose translation of Homer's Iliad, but whether he ever had it in contemplation to complete such a version, we do not learn. He records, that he began to read Poetry in the year 1744 — that it was his chief amusement and that he remembered more of that than of any other kind of reading till the year 1751. Even the dates of his course of reading, he was attentive enough to register thus:

Pope's Iliad and Odyssey 1742.

Virgil's Aeneid 1742.

Hesiod Lat. with the Notes of Dryden and Sanderson. Thus with attention.

1743

Petronius Lat. with the Translation of Addington. These two Books, I remember & ed what knowledge I have of the Latin Tongue; and at the same time applied me to the French

Virgil Lat. with attention, and repeated since 1743 — 1753.

Livy Lat. 1743. still lively

Cato &c. Lat. 1743.

Illiad, to Herennius Lat. 1751 with attention.

Caesar's Commentaries Lat. 1751

Longinus' Plays

Horace

Shakespeare Plays } from 1742 to 1750.

Vanburgh & d'Urfé

Farquhar d'Urfé

Milton's Paradise Lost (ever the Regent's) 1743.

Tatler Spectator Guardian by successive parts; and not completed to this day

The 100 Miles of Milton, three times. 1749, 1750, 1751

Gordon Tatler which I have mostly forgotten except the hardness of the Style 1743

Rapin's History of England 1743; of which I do not remember a word

Pope's Works 1743

Sixty Works, 1751

Latreille's King's Speech 1750, 1752

Orcutt's Life of S. John 1752. I once did

Cicero's History 1742. of which I remember little

Lightfoot's Lexicon It is attenuated 1743

Persian Letters Fr. 1743 still only

- French Greek Lives, only Fr D'Acier
 Théorie de Statemens Agreeables. Fr Accorde.
 M. Bonet Life Eng Pridesaux; with a foolish Dissertation.
 Draguet Lutetia Lat. Longolius.
 Mémoires de Gray Trouessac. I
 Mémoires de Poujegur Fr but not his Reflections for la Coquer. Father
 to the Marshal. I
 Reflections on Leving Eng Tales; in one day
 Cornelius Nepos. Lat
 Indicatio of Bolingbroke and the Dauphin, in one pamphlet two excellent
 pieces supposed by Voltaire
 Life of Genghiscan Eng From the French.
 History of the Tartars. Eng from the French a jumbled piece of work
 I only read the first volume
 Cromegias. Fr Whate
 Reflections on the History of England. Bolingbroke; with the attention that
 so noble work deserves. I
 All of the best recommended Books that merited it, I have read with atten-
 tion having had regard to Geography Chronology and Diction

He does not seem to have continued the record of his course of reading beyond the year 1786 or if he did, the mémoranda have been lost.

Our Author was singularly happy in the composition of monumental Inscriptions of which he wrote very many for his friends, on various occasions.

Mr Orme at the time of his death, held the office of Historio-
 grapher to the East India Company and that he was not an idle or
 unprofitable servant but very numerous MSS sufficiently testify (gg)
 Many

(gg) These he committed to the care of his friend and exec. John Roberts, Esq late
 Chairman of the Court of Directors, with several maps, part of his printed books, and
 an ms of other historical works to be by him presented to the Honour-
 able East India Company. This shall be faithfully executed, and they are now depos-
 ited at the Library of the East India - There next of our hundred and twenty tracts
 printed for Mr Orme on the subject of India with the Honourable Com-
 pany and a few in the art 33 works they are

Many of these were of recent composition; in fact, he continued to make extracts from very interesting materials till within a short period of his death, and the Company, as well as the Public at large, will hereafter be greatly benefited by them, if any of Mr Orme's successors in office shall with spirit pursue the path that has been pointed out by him, who has frequently been denominated the British Thucydides, and certainly may with great truth be called the Father of Oriental History

His small work here reprinted, called "Historical Fragments," on which he prided himself even more than on his voluminous writings, cost him infinite labour. It is well known, that he read over many huge volumes of the Company's records to collect a very few facts, and sometimes merely to ascertain a date, or fix the situation of a place, it need scarcely be remarked, therefore, that its contents, so elaborately collected, are of great value. A reference to his Authorities, printed at the end of this volume, will give the reader some idea of the laboriousness of the task, when it is considered that he found all those references necessary to the accurate compilation of only 410 small pages in octavo.

We may therefore, with strict propriety, consider him as having been an old and faithful servant, as well as a liberal benefactor, to the honourable East India Company, and we venture to predict, that the resistless scythe of Time will have cut deep into posterity, before an Historiographer will be found to employ more industry, perseverance, and

TWO HUNDRED and THIRTY-ONE VOLUMES, in manuscript of various sizes, chiefly bound in vellum, containing a vast body of information upon the subject of India, with many useful Indexes.

SEVERAL BUNDLES of LETTERS, chiefly from Madras and Bombay, upon the subject of the Company's transactions in India.

THIRTY-FIVE LARGE VOLUMES in folio and quarto, containing maps, plans, and views in the Peninsula of India, principally by the Chief Engineer, and given to Mr Orme by the several English Commanders in India

FOUR large PORT FOLIOS, containing maps, plans, views, &c

TWENTY ROLLS, containing sundry maps, plans, &c

A BUST of MR ORME, executed by MR NOLLEKENS

SIX FIGURES in brass, representing some of the principal emblems of the divine attributes, according to the mythology of the Hindus

and learning, to illustrate the History and Commerce of the East, than we have shown to have been employed by our Author. The circumstances that he has recorded will serve as examples to future ages but, more especially the noble acts of humanity which the British conquerors have exercised among the poor and oppressed Indians, will ever shine with the brightest lustre.

Our liberality in victorious war and the mild principles of conduct which are dictated by our equal system of laws, have exhibited a striking contrast to the arbitrary and imperious proceedings of Asiatic despots and this object is still more effectually promoted by the establishment of independent Courts of Judicature now introduced into the different parts of the British dominions in India, for the purpose of restricting all unauthorized acts of power in the servants and dependants of the Government, without infringing the inoffensive customs, religious or domestic, of the natives by which justice is administered to all ranks of people in a manner that will tend to raise that numerous, though feeble and submissive race, to a rank in human existence worthy of the British name.

It may safely be asserted, that the natives of India now enjoy a protection for their lives, property and industry which had heretofore been either unknown or precarious among them, as numerous examples in our Author's writings effectually evince. Nor is this all for the extension of the British dominion in India opens to the learned world an amazing fund of knowledge which had lain buried in oblivion on the banks of the Ganges from the earliest times.

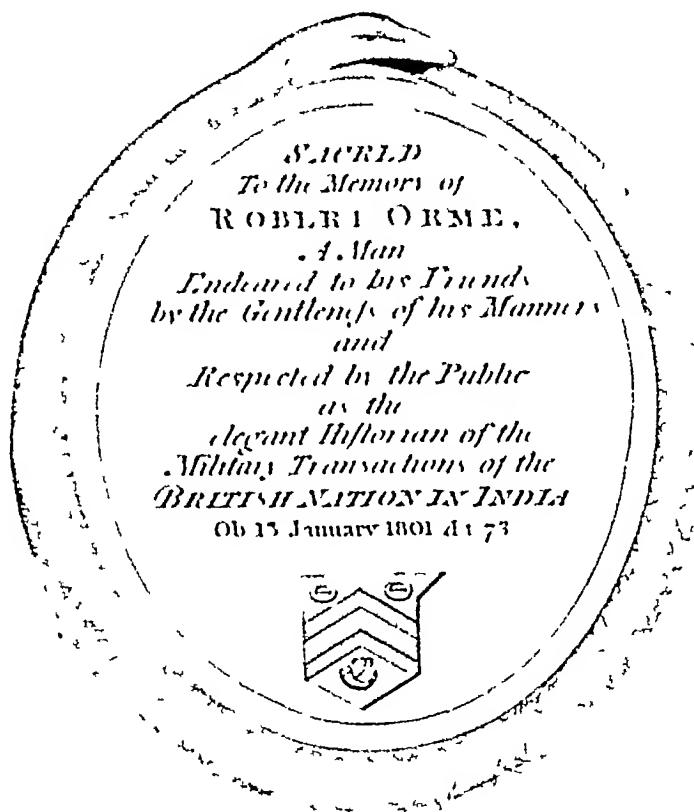
The successful industry of a few gentlemen, in the most difficult and laborious parts of Eastern learning, particularly in the study of the Sanscrit language the establishment of an Oriental Library and Museum at the East India House the formation of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta for the promotion of researches into the history languages, and antiquities of Eastern nations and, finally the institution of a College in this country for the instruction of young gentlemen intended for the Civil Service of the East India Company abroad promise to be of important service to mankind in general, but to this country in particular and will mark the commencement of the 19th century as a grand epocha in the republic of letters.

Though

Though our Author was not profoundly versed in the learned languages of the country, yet his active spirit of inquiry, and sagacious observation, had no small share in recommending establishments of such singular national benefit.

To conclude —Never had liberal and honourable Masters a more zealous, faithful, or disinterested servant, nor the Country a more firm friend, than the late ingenious and amiable ROBERT ORME.

London,
July 20, 1803.



HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

OF THE

MOGUL EMPIRE,

OF THE

MORATTOES,

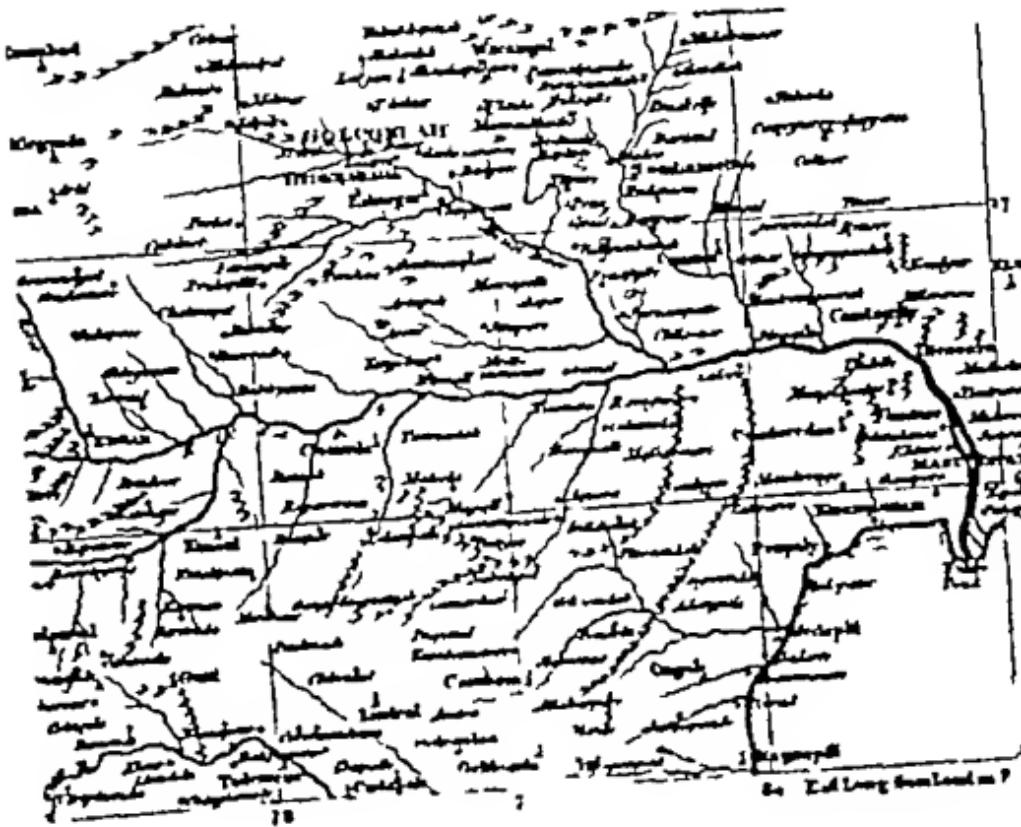
AND OF THE

ENGLISH CONCERN'S

IN INDOSTAN,

FROM THE YEAR M,DCLIX

First published in the Year 1782.



According to WALTERS & Hunter.

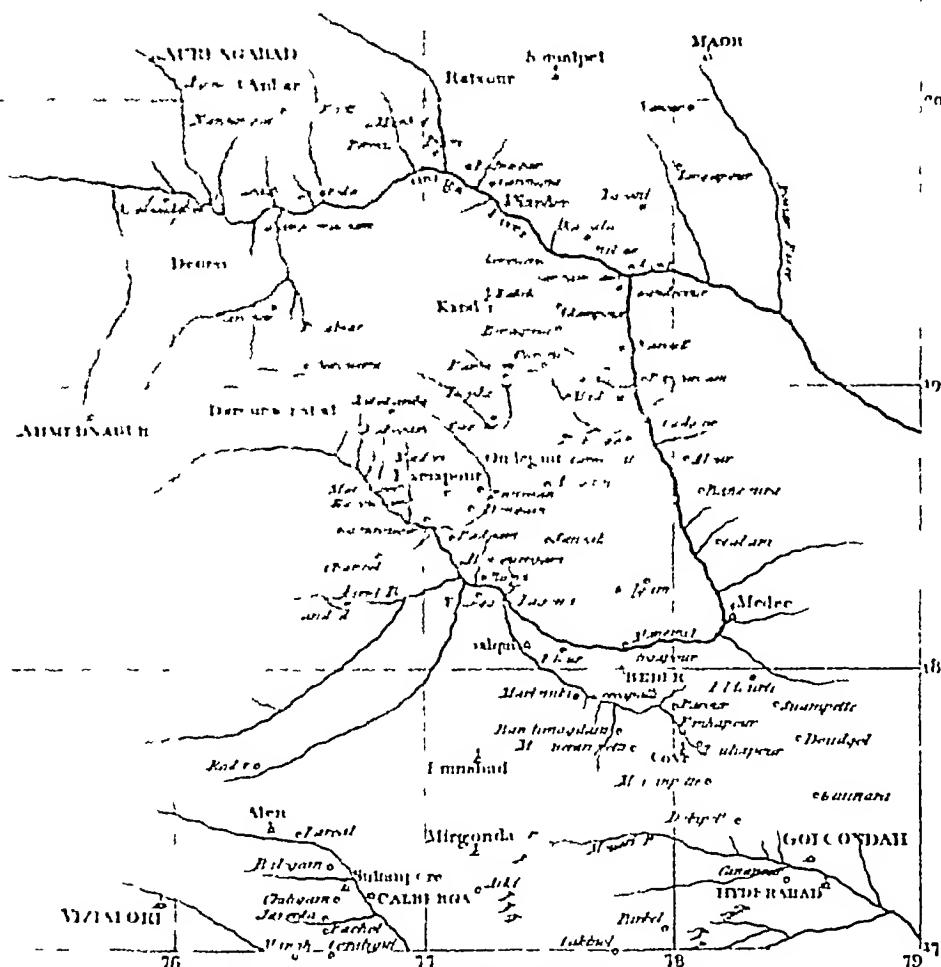
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HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS, &c.

The NOTES are placed at the end of the Volume

WE have already published some portion of the military transactions of the British Nation in INDOSTAN, from the year 1744. In that publication the affairs of BENGAL are brought down to the month of September 1758, when the presidency of Calcutta detached a considerable part of their force to attack the French possessions in the Northern provinces of Coromandel. Very soon after the departure of this armament, the province of BEHAR dependent on Bengal was invaded by the SHAH ZADA, which title may be interpreted, the acknowledged heir of the Mogul Empire who some months before had made his escape from Delhi, where his father had been dethroned, and was kept in close confinement by the Vizir. After a variety of distresses, the prince had collected a body of troops, which, with his own name, and sup-

~~SECRET~~
1 posed aversions against the government of Jaffier he thought sufficient to reduce the city of Patna From this possession he expected to acquire the means of re-establishing his father's, or at least his own authority at Delhi

The degradation to which the sovereignty of the Moguls was at this time reduced in every province of their dominion proceeded from evils which had been increasing ever since the death of AURENGZEB and cannot be developed without a general view of his reign as well as the reign of his successors. This period comprises one hundred years The events, if we had acquired the knowledge of them in time, would have formed a proper introduction to the later portion of history which we have already published and the narrative they require is too extensive to find place as an insertion in the continuation of that work. We therefore give it apart and only in the character of FRAGMENTS which the want of more materials disables us from disposing into a more regular form.

AURENGZEB dated the commencement of his reign from 1659 the 12th of May 1659 His father Shah Jahan died after seven years confinement in the castle of Agra, on the 21st of January 1666 The enquiries of Europeans have not hitherto procured any history of Aurengzebe composed by a native of Indostan, which extends beyond the 15th year of his reign answering to 1671 of our era. Mr Frazer who was at Surat in 1748 says that he forbade his life to be written Catrou says quite the contrary but that he prescribed the mode

Accordingly

OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE

Accordingly, the ALUMGUIRNAMA, which comprises the first ten years of his reign, was composed under his immediate inspection, and is a shameless apology for the deposal and imprisonment of his father, and the destruction of his three brothers, with six of their sons; whose removal cleared his way to the throne. But should there be no consecutive history of the subsequent part of his reign, different portions of it will probably be found in the annals of the provinces he ravaged, and of the princes he subdued.

The empire, at the death of Shah Jehan, extended from CABUL to the NERBEDDAH, westward of this river to the INDUS, and to the eastward comprehended BENGAL and ORIXA. And to the south of the Nerbeddah which bounds the Decan, the Moguls had reduced the countries dependent on BRAMPORE, AURENGABAD, AHMEDNAGUR, and BEDER, which had been connected into one government, this territory was bounded on the east by BERAR, westward by the hills towards CONCAN; and by the dominions of GOLCONDAAH and VIZIAPORE to the south.

Aurengzebe held this government of the Decan under his father, and acquired in it the means of dethroning him. Even at that time, his capacious mind had determined to annex all the unconquered countries of the peninsula to the empire, and it is probable that he would have prosecuted this enterprise in person, as soon as released from the anxiety of his father's life, whose death is imputed to him, if wars and insurrections had not demanded his presence in the northern parts of his dominions. In the meantime a power was rising

~~S F C T~~ in the Deccan to resist the onset, and after various vicissitudes to retaliate on his successors the *injuries of his sword*.
I SEVAGI was the founder of the present nation of Morattoes. He drew his lineage from the Rajahs of Chitore who boast their descent from Porus, and are esteemed the most ancient establishment of Hindoo princes and the noblest of the Rajpoot tribes*.

The father of Sevagi, with his three sons, had employment under the king of Viziapore. Sevagi assuming on the merit of several military successes, and on the consciousness of his talents, gave suspicions to the ministers, of which he prevented the effects by retiring with the troops of his own command to the mountains of the sea coast in which he got possession without resistance of several strong forts. The security of these retreats, and the connections he contrived to maintain in the army of Viziapore brought several bodies of troops to his service and the reputation of his lineage and abilities, induced many of the Rajpoots of his own tribe to devote themselves to his fortunes and the more because he was in hostility with a Mahomedan power against whom they are always fond of fighting. The plunder of the champaign country was the means of subsistence. The king of Viziapore sent a considerable

The descent of the Chitore Rajahs from Porus although attested by European travellers does not seem to be established by Indian writers. In the history described in p. 311 of the Lure, and compiled by a Hindu they are stated to have been established from 300 generations and to have possessed a revenue of 10 millions Sterling. But even that, i. the ordinary extrapolation would not bring them with to 200 years of the age of Alexander (320 years A. C.). Porus, who was conquered by Alexander is by the same historian styled Rayah Pura a sovereign of Capone and is called Pboor the historical poem of the Kali-murti. We draw the substance of this note from a paper communication to Mr. Orme by Mr. Charles Roode Houghton Bart.

Foto



SEVACI

force against him, of which he seduced the commander Abdul to a conference, by professions of submission, and stabbed him with his own hand, it is said, by a device, which, if practicable, could not be suspected, on which an ambuscade cut down all the retinue, except the general's son, who escaped back to the camp, which immediately broke up and dispersed

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Aurengzebe commanded at this time in the Decan, and was meditating his ambitious return to Delhi, he had broken the force of Golcondah, but Viziapore still remained formidable, and would become much more so after the departure of the best troops and generals, whom he intended to take with him His sagacity saw a substitute in the enterprising spirit of Sevagi, whom he congratulated on his victory over Abdul, exhorted him to persevere, gave him two or three forts, which opened into Viziapore but not foreseeing the extent of the concession, or confident of retrieving it, promised that he should hold, exempt from tribute to the Mogul, whatsoever territories he might conquer belonging to that kingdom

Pannela was one of the strongest fortresses in the Concan, towards the capital of Viziapore, and Sevagi got possession of it by a stratagem Seven or eight hundred of his best troops were led off by their officers, who had suffered themselves, some to be affronted, others to be chastised by him they took service in Pannela, which Sevagi some time after invested, and the officers on a set night, at a part where trees were growing

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Sect¹ as high as the walls received as many of his men from without as, with those within were sufficient to overpower the garrison and then opened the gates. Sevagi acquiring more troops with the increase of his reputation, extended his invasions still farther into the dominions of Vizapore. The King sent his whole force against him under the command of the son of Abdul. Sevagi kept the field but out of reach, until he had bought one of the generals, who commanded a considerable part of the cavalry and then stood the shock. The tainted general kept aloof which spreading suspicions of more treasons, the efforts of personal valour in Abdul's son were not seconded and he retired although with much greater numbers, little less than discomfited from the field. Many of the suborned cavalry although not the general joined Sevagi who soon after appeared plundering in the mode of the Moravites of this day within sight of the walls of Vizapore on which the king's army marched against Pannela which called back Sevagi to its defence. The siege was conducted by Siddee Jore an officer of long standing and reputation, who held the government of the port of Dunda Rajapore with the adjacent country and was admiral of the fleet which the King maintained on the coast to protect his trading ships against the Portuguese and the government of Surat. Siddee Jore invested Pannela closely and a long while but to no effect. At length Sevagi negotiated and having made it publicly believed that he was on the point of giving it up on certain terms, went secretly

secretly out of the fort, and arriving suddenly with troops from his other stations at Dunda Rajapore, produced an order, as from Siddee Jore, for the delivery of this place, as the condition of the surrend^ere of Pannela His appearance gave credit to the forgery, for it was not supposed that he could have got out of Pannela without the permission of Siddee Jore, and he was admitted into the town on the land: but the commander of the fortified island, called Gingerah, which is the valid bulwark of the harbour, entertained suspic^cions, and would not deliver it up

SECT.
I

On the loss of Rajahpore, the siégé of Pannela was raised, and Siddee Jore went to exculpate himself to the king, who dissembled his resentment, which the Siddee nevertheless discovered, and left Viziapote, intending to retire to his own domain He was accompanied by the troops of his command, who were a strong body , a larger was sent in pursuit of them, whom he defeated , on which the king himself took the field , but as a surer method, bought some of the officers nearest to the Siddee, who assassinated him on the night before he intended to give battle Meanwhile Sevagi at Rajahpore was trying all means to get possession of the fortified island , but the governor was the heir of Siddee Jore, and from desire to revenge his death, as well as for the more splendid establishment of his own fortune, treated with the generals of Aurengzebe in Guzerat and the Deccan, proffering his service with the fort of Gingerah, and the whole fleet of Viziapore his terms

SECT
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1660 1661 were accepted, and he was appointed the Mogul's admiral, with a large stipend on the revenues of Surat from whence he afterwards continually received succours against Sevagi. These events happened in the years 1660 and 1661 and such was the origin of the power of the SIDDEES under the Mogul

Sevagi had scarcely thrown this confusion into the Kingdom of Vizapore, when it was increased by the death of the King, leaving his son a minor and the nobles disputing the regency 1662 Taking advantage of these circumstances, Sevagi sent detachments to reduce the domains of Vizapore along the sea-coast of the Concan Some places they ravaged and levied contribution in others of others they kept possession and scarcely met resistance in any for the dissensions in the administration prevented succours. In the seaports which he intended to maintain he encouraged, instead of suppressing their ancient practices of piracy

At the same time Sevagi himself from his forts in the northern hills, issued into the plain, and on opposition from the troops of the Mogul contrary as he pretended, to treaty, directed his ravages against his territory between Ahmednagar and Aurengabad Aurengzebe was at this time in quiet possession of the throne, having destroyed his three brothers, and reconciled the people to the imprisonment of his father he heard with indignation these insults of the adventurer he had encouraged such as the powers of Vizapore and Golcondah had long been deterred from attempting and peremptory orders

OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE.

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orders were sent to Chaest Khan, the Subah of the conquered territories in the Decan, and uncle to the emperor by marriage, to extirpate Sevagi, and his adherents. The Subah marched with a multitude of troops, to the foot of the hills, and reduced most of Sevagi's out-posts without much resistance, but was stopped much longer before Chagnah, which, although on the edge of the campaign country, was a rock inaccessible to assault, and he is said to have taken it by flying a paper-kite with a lighted match at the tail, which blew up the magazine of powder, and the explosion destroyed the garrison. The season of the rains and storms in these hills and the coast below them, permits no operations abroad from the beginning of May to the latter end of August. In the next campaign, the forces of the Decan were joined by those of Guzerat, under the command of the Maha Rajah Jeffwont Sing, of Joudpore, on whom Aurengzbe had conferred the government of that province. Religion, power, birth, and pride, concurred to set the two Subahs at variance, not unknown to Sevagi, who tendered his services to the Mahah Rajah to assassinate Chaest Khan, which was accepted. The event is related different ways, in one, that Sevagi acted in person, it is certain he provided the assassins.

SECT.

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1663.

They got into the tent of Chaest Khan after midnight, who escaped with a severe wound in his hand, defending his head, but his son, rushing in to his assistance, was slain. The con-

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SECT fusion and suspicion produced by this event, and the incapacity to which Chaest Khan was reduced by his wound put an end to offensive operations during the rest of this campaign and Chaest Khan returning to Delhi, the next was not opened with the return of the fair season which gave Sevagi room to appear again abroad from his inward retreats in the hills. Nor did he lose the opportunity

1664 The blow he meditated was against Surat. It is said he went into the city in disguise, and remained in it three days, picking up intelligence and marking the opulent houses. To conceal his intentions, he formed two camps, one before Chaul, the other before Bassin as if his designs were in those quarters. He then took 4000 horse from his camp at Bassin ordering the rest to continue the same watches, and music, as if their numbers were not diminished and himself not absent. He led his party through un frequented tracts, which he had himself examined and appeared in sight of Surat before his approach was known. The city at this time had only one wall and that of earth nor were the gates of any strength. The governor of the town took refuge with him of the castle, and his example was followed by all who could gain admittance. From this terror no resistance was made in the town but the castle fired continually after Sevagi had entered which he disregarded but apprehensive of troops from Ahmedabad remained only three days in the town. The booty he collected in treasure, jewels, and precious

cious commodities, was estimated at a million sterlinc, which is not improbable, for he knew where to seek and demand them, and the annual importations of gold and silver from the gulphs of Arabia and Persia, besides what came directly from Europe, amounted at this time to 50,00,000 rupees, and two families in the town were the richest mercantile houses in the world, there were many others of great wealth. The English and Dutch factories stood on their defence, but Sevagi gave them no molestation. This happened in January 1664.

1664.

Besides the abundance of its commerce, Surat was in high renown, as being the port through which the Mogul's subjects made the pilgrimage to Mecca, of which, in the archives of the empire, it was called the port. Aurengzebe felt the disgrace, as well as the detriment of the insult, and foresaw it might be repeated, until the city were better fortified, which required time, unless Sevagi were coerced by the strongest necessity of self-defence. The whole army of the Decan invaded his territory the conduct of the war was committed to Jysing, the Rajah of Abnir, who had a secret instruction to entice Sevagi to Delhi, but preferred the nobler exercise of the sword, until the active and obstinate resistance of Sevagr produced a solemn assurance of safety from Aurengzebe himself, on which he set out for Delhi, accompanied by a decent retinue, and his eldest son. He had formed several excellent officers, worthy of trust, and ordered them to keep up his whole force, under the usual

firmness,

SECT strictness, and ready to move at his call but forbade them to
 I trust any letters from himself unless confirmed by the verbal
 messengers of particular persons whom he took with him in ap-
 p. 13. pearance as menial servants. He was received by Aurengzebe
 with much courtesy which continued until the ladies of the
 Seraglio, incited by the wife of Chaest Khan, in revenge for
 the death of her son and the disgrace of her husband solicited
 Aurengzebe, not unwilling to destroy him But the high
 Omrahs said they had no other security for their own lives,
 than the word of the King and that the Hindoo Rajahs would
 revolt at such a breach of faith to one of their own condition
 Seragi at the public audience, upbraided Aurengzebe with
 the intention and said that he thought Chaest Khan and Surat
 had taught him better the value of such a servant then drew
 his dagger to stab himself but his arm was stopt. Aurengzebe
 condescended to sooth him repeated his first assurance of
 safety and requested his service in the expedition he was pre-
 paring against Candahar Seragi replied he could command
 no troops but his own and was permitted to send for them
 Nevertheless his dwelling and all his doings were narrowly
 watched He sent his letters by his trusty messengers, who
 carried orders very different from the letters His army
 moved into Guzerat, on the road to Delli and small parties,
 too small to create suspicion, were sent forward one beyond
 another with the fleetest horses. When the foremost reached
 its station Seragi and his son were carried out of their dwel-
 ling

hing at night in covered baskets, such as fruit and repasts are sent in from persons of distinction to one another, and a boat, as for common passengers, was waiting at the extremity of the city. They passed the river unsuspected, when Sevagi giving the boat-man money, bid him go and tell Aurengzebe, that he had carried Sevagi and his son across the Jumna, then mounting with the first party, they set off at speed, and recrossed the river at a ford lower down, after which their track and stations were through an unfrequented circuit to the west of the great cities, and amongst the mountains. The son, who had not yet reached his growth, emulating his father, sunk, and died in the way, of fatigue, and the father, leaving attendants to perform the obsequies of his funeral pile, pushed on until he joined his army in Guzerat, which he turned with burning vengeance against the Mogul's lands, wheresoever they were not appeased by money, or opposed by strong situations. Surat, as the most scornful defiance, Sevagi reserved to himself. A new wall was begun, but far from finished, and the inhabitants, to prevent his troops from entering the city, as well as to remove them from the manufacturing villages around, capitulated with him in his camp, for a ransom, which he did not raise to excess, as he intended to come again for more. The Rajah Jysing was again employed to oppose him, and, as before, with instructions to persuade his return to Delhi, to which Sevagi replied, that he did not think Aurengzebe such a fool, as to think him such a one, to trust himself a second time to the man who had once deceived him.

SECT.

I

SECT ¹ All accommodations being at an end, the Mogul troops belonging to the governments of Aurengabad and Ahmednagar, moved again to the hills of Concan and passed the campaign at the foot of them, watchful to prevent the incursions of Sevagi into the plain country but made few attempts on his strong holds within the mountains nor were they solicitous to give protection to the territories on either side of them belonging to the king of Vizapore, with whom they were at continual variance, on the account of disputed districts, or defaulting tributes. Their principal station was at the city of Jen neah which lies under the impregnable fortress of the same name. Sevagi who never preferred the fame to the utility of his exploits, determined to avoid all encounter with the Mogul troops, without certain advantage; to plunder in Vizapore, when most convenient or necessary but to persevere without ceasing in reducing the country between the hills and the sea

Every success, howsoever extraneous, which increased his strength, was now considered by Aurengzebe as effectual obstacles to his own schemes of conquest in the Deccan nor was he affected with less resentment by the spoil of his own territory in which the bands of Sevagi, descending suddenly from the mountains, committed ravage, as it were at will eluding both resistance and pursuit To reduce him by the sword was out of the question nor was the dagger more likely to succeed against a man, who had used it with so much subtlety and expertness and Aurengzebe concluding that he could only be

be taken in the toils of ambition, formed a plan, which, even if failing in the main end, would, like many others of his profound sagacity, operate to other intentions of his policy.

In 1667,* he appointed his son, Mahomed Mauzum (now become the eldest by the death of his brother in imprisonment) to the viceroyalty of the Decan, and gave him in secret conference the instruction of his conduct. The prince marched from Delhi with a numerous and chosen army, and amongst the officers were several of whom Aurengzebe entertained suspicions. It is said that Sevagi, disguised like a peasant, waited his passage through a village near Brampore, and presented a plate of cream, which, from its appearance, Mauzum ordered to be served at his meal, within was a note inclosed in wax, written by Sevagi, declaring, that curiosity had led him to view the mighty prince, who now condescended to become his antagonist in the lists of fame, expecting to acquire more from this contest than from all his former achievements. The gallantry of the defiance, if true, must have warned the prince (had there not been proofs before) of the dangerous resources of his intricate intrepidity.

The Mogul army spread along the foot of the hills to the north and south of Jenncah-gur, but with such careless watch, that the bands of Sevagi made excursions through them, even to the gates of Viziapore, and returned with rich booties and impunity much less were they interrupted in

* This date appears in Mr. Gentil

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

sect¹ reducing the sea coast of the Concan. The Mogul soldiery
 murmured through envy, and censured the indolence of their
 generals, who cast the blame on their prince. Aurangzebe
 received accounts from many hands, of the state of the army
 and answered them by suspicions of his son whom he never-
 theless ordered the accusers to obey at all events, that he
 might discover his real intentions which if sinister he re-
 served to himself to punish at the same time he instructed
 his son to make the vindictive displeasure of his father the
 plea of the revolt which had been concerted between them
 before he left Delhi. And so many evidences of the Em-
 peror's mistrust were in the camp, that few suspected the dis-
 simulation. Jysing of Abnir commanded the auxiliary forces
 of the Rajahs, and Delli Khan the Mogul troops, under
 Sultan Manzum. Jysing was attached to the prince from
 respect to his birth for his mother was the daughter of a
 Rajah of high antiquity. He concurred in the revolt and
 giving his own not only procured the signature of all the other
 Rajahs in the army but likewise induced Jeewont Sing of
 Joudpore, to promise that he would join the standards of Sul-
 tan Manzum, when advanced as far as his country. Services
 which Delli Khan had rendered Aurangzebe in his wars for
 the throne had only left suspicions, instead of gratitude,
 which had not escaped his penetration and now in turn led
 him to suspect some machination of Aurangzebe in the revolt
 of his son in consequence of which, he marched away with
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the troops of his command to Delhi, as a proof of his fidelity; which only disappointed Aurengzebe, without changing his opinion who nevertheless ordered him to halt in Malva, as an advanced guard against the approach of Sultan Mauzum, and made preparations to march himself towards Agra.

Things being in this apparent state of commotion, Sultan Mauzum applied to Sevagi for assistance, representing the motives of his revolt, and the adherents he had gained, all which Sevagi knew before by his spies; but suspected and in order to obtain certitude from time, promised troops with his own service in person, in the day of conflict. To remove his doubts, Mauzum moved with his army from Aurengabad, towards the north, nevertheless not Sevagi from home, but waited intelligence from his emissaries at Delhi, who could discover nothing; for Aurengzebe had revealed the collusion to no one. But he appeared without anxiety in his countenance, nor were the military preparations urged with his usual activity; which decided the judgment of Sevagi. Sultan Mauzum, marching onward, remonstrated to Sevagi the evil consequences of his delay to join the army, and to convince him of the reality of the revolt, formally distributed all the great employments in the empire. Sevagi answered, that the Sultan's force alone was more than sufficient to discomfit the languid efforts of his father, but promised to guard the Deccan in his absence, and, in the case of his defeat, assured him of refuge in his own territory. The Sultan now began to think

^{SECT}
^I that Sevagi might suspect his scheme, and as a last trial, reproached him with the hazardous venture he had made from reliance on his assistance in the hour of decision which was now become inevitable and offered him the post of captain-general of his army and future empire. Sevagi advised him not to wait for his troops, but give battle without hesitation if defeated to fall back into the Deccan where he would join in maintaining the war against Aurangzebe until the last extremity which it is probable he would have done.

By this time the army was arrived at the river Schambal in Malva, and Sultan Mauzum was convinced that Sevagi had discovered the snare. On which he changed his secret correspondence with his father to an open negotiation of apology and by his order returned to Aurengabad and continued in the government of the Deccan. Jysing died of poison, imputed to Aurangzebe on his arrival at Brampore several officers, who had been the most zealous in the revolt were seized and imprisoned for life and all the others were made known to Aurangzebe who moreover by this complicated stratagem fixed as he had foreseen such general distrust on his son as was likely to prevent him from gaining support in any future intention of real rebellion. Sultan Mauzum returned to Delhi, and arrived there on the succeeding January a few days after the death of his grandfather Shah Jehan. These events closed with the year 1665 during which the empire was threatened with invasion from Persia at this time ruled by Shah Abbas the second,

second, whose troops were continually repassing to Kandahar, and both sovereigns intended to command their armies in person but before either were ready, Shah Abbas died at Tauris in September 1666, and the infancy of his successor changed the councils of Persia to peace nevertheless their intrigues had sown the seeds of future commotions in the Moguls empire, for several of the Pitan tribes of Pishavir and Cabul had confederated to join the Persians, and being left by the death of the Sophy to the mercy of Aurengzebe, were punished with vindictive severity Tumults ensued, which were quelled and revived, until time and despair united all the tribes in steadfast rebellion

Sultan Mauzum was recalled to Delhi in 1667, when the command of the Deccan devolved on Bahadar Khan, an Omrah of high birth, and little enterprise, which Aurengzebe endeavoured to supply by sending back Delire Khan to act as his second, whom he thus removed with the appearance of favour from the hope of employment against his own countrymen the Pitans, amongst whom he could not be trusted Both the generals were enjoined to exert their utmost efforts in repressing Sevagi, who was continually gaining ground

The Concan is that region, which extends along the western coast of India from the territory of Goa to Daman, in length two hundred and forty miles The vast range of hills which accompanies the sea coast, and always in sight of it from Cape Comerin to Daman, is called the GAVTS, an Indian word which

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signifies

SECT
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1666

~~sect~~ signifies passages. This chain, never more than fifty, or less than thirty miles from the sea, has in its whole extent very few passes which open into the inland country by windings amongst the mountains which diminish the abruptness of the ascent. In all other parts, and especially in the Concan the whole chain seems one connected wall to the summit of which every path has been hewn by the hand of man and nevertheless is not to be ascended even by the single foot of the traveller without the fatigue of hours. The eastern side of the ridge is not so steep, neither is it so high because the level of the coast lies much lower than the level of the inland country which nevertheless continues breaking for many miles from the foot of the Gauts into separate mountains, of which several nearly vie in height with the Gauts themselves. The sea coast is intersected by many rivers, all of which descend from the Gauts.

Seragi was at this time in possession of all the ridge in the extent from Rajapore to Daman besides which he had several detached fortresses of great strength to the eastward Pannela, between Pondah and Vissapore Saler Moler on the Tapti east of Surat, Rawn thirty miles to the south of Jenneah-gur and like it, an extensive fortification on the table of a very high rock. At this place he fixed his treasury and the residence of his court. Excepting Chaul which continued to the Portuguese, he was in possession of the sea coast from the river of Rajapore to the river Penn, which flows into the harbour of BOMBAY

This island had been ceded to the crown of England in 1662, as the dowry of Katharine, princess of Portugal, on her marriage with CHARLES the second, who sent a squadron with a regiment to take possession, accompanied by a new Viceroy of Goa to effect the surrender, but the Portuguese gentry, amongst whom the lands of the island were divided, pretended that the terms of cession were contrary to their rights, and being abetted in their cavils by their connexions at Bassein and Goa, refused to acknowledge the Viceroy, if he persisted. On this the armament went to the road of Swally, where the troops landed, and alarmed the governor of Surat so much, that he threatened to destroy the English factory in the city, which at this time was the presidency of all their settlements in India. The armament therefore sailed away to the island of Anchidiva, near Goa, where they continued negotiating until one half of the troops and seamen died through the inclemency of the climate, and amongst them Sir Andrew Shipman, who had been appointed to govern Bombay. His secretary Cook, presuming on some delegation of powers, concluded a treaty with the council of Goa, very derogatory from the rights granted by the crown of Portugal. This treaty was executed on the 14th of January 1665, and soon after the remains of the armament sailed to Bombay, and were permitted to take possession. However the treaty was disavowed in England, and Sir Samuel Lucas was appointed governor, still for the crown, but King Charles soon tired

**SECT
I**
1668 tured of the expence and granted the island to the East India company with extraordinary privileges, by a charter dated the 27th of March 1668¹ when the company appointed commissioners to govern it under the controul of the presidency of Surat.

The tract of land on the main which extends from Tull, the south point of the harbour to the river Penn which lies deep within the bay is extremely fertile, and was called the **COLLAIS**, meaning districts from which Sevagi permitted the new settlers to draw provisions, and treated them as well come customers whilst they continued defenceless. Neither side seem to have had any competent notion of the value, of what the one had acquired and the other had neglected to get possession.

It was near thirteen years since Sevagi had gained the town of Dunda Rajapore, from whence he had every year opened batteries against the fortified island of Gingerali which stands within half a mile of the shore but the Siddee kept Gallivats under the walls, and ships in the harbour, which Sevagi had not vessels to withstand and therefore could never venture to transport his troops to the assault

'The Moguls generals established their principal incampment at Jenneah-gur which since Sevagi had fixed his residence at Raen became still more the proper situation to watch his excursions either towards Surat or Autengabad but he continued to elude their vigilance and at the end of

1669 appeared suddenly at the head of his army before Surat a part of the wall still remained unfinished, at which his troops entered with little resistance, and the governor of the town pretending surprise retired into the castle Every house which did not pay competent ransom was plundered, but the English and Dutch factories were exempted, as in 1664, from either molestation or demand The booty was regularly collected, and carried to Raicee The governor was suspected of connivance, and soon after died suddenly of poison, administered, it is said, by the order of Aurengzebe, who could scarcely have recurred to such means of removing one of his own officers, but from the apprehension of his escape, if apprized by usual warning.

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1669

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The insult exasperated Aurengzebe as much as the former sack of 1664 he renewed his injunctions of exertion to his generals, and reinforcements were ordered to join them even from the province of Behar, probably because none nearer to the person of the emperor could be spared, from his reserves for the war of the Pitans But as a surer means of confining Sevagi to his own defence, he ordered vessels to be built in the ports of Surat and Cambay, which were to carry troops, and make descents on the shores of the Concan, in conjunction with the fleet commanded by the Siddee

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These preparations only increased the exertions of Sevagi to extend his conquests along the coast In 1670 he sent a large detachment to attack the town of Rajapore, which is

1670.

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SECT

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1670

situated on a fine river forty miles to the north of Gheriah, and had long been, as at this time, a very frequented port, immediately belonging to the king of Vixiapore. Resistance was made even in the field but the town was carried and all kind of property although much belonged to the trade of states with whom Sevagi had no quarrel was plundered without remission or distinction. The English at this time had a factory in the town, and estimated their loss at 10 000 pagodas.

1671

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In the beginning of 1671 he appeared again before Sumat, ravaging and plundering until the city paid him a large contribution in money. We find him at Rauree in December, and his agent at the same time at Bombay treating about a compensation for the loss, which the company had sustained at Rajapore.

1672

In the beginning of the ensuing year 1672 Delhuro Khan took a strong fort called Pinna Chaukna, in Sevagi's upper or northern country and put all the males above nine years of age to the sword. Sevagi immediately called troops from all his garrisons, giving out that he intended to offer Delhuro Khan battle who although he had 60 000 horse, was deceived by invented reports, and waited in expectation of the encounter at Jenneah, until he heard that Sevagi had marched round forty miles to the north with a large convoy of provisions, and had effected his real purpose of victualling Saler Moler from whence he returned again out of the reach of

Delhuro

Delhire Khan, to Rairee, where he arrived in February, and immediately came down the Gauts to Decir, when it was believed, that he designed to proceed to Suiat, but as he never did the thing he seemed to mean, went back to Rairee. Soon after the rains and stormy season set in, during which operations in the field are generally precluded until the end of September, but in the month of July Sevagi came down the Gauts again with his army, and advancing from Decir along the lower mountains, sent forward his general Morah Pundit with 10,000 horse to Surat, intending to burn the fleet which had been built by the Mogul's order, and was assembled in the river ready to sail with the Siddee's, as soon as the season would permit. It would have saved a double march if he had made the attempt on Surat immediately after he had victualled Saler Moler, but the city, as well as the camp at Jenncah, had taken the alarm, and by desisting at that time, and again, when he came down the Gauts before the rains, he prevented all suspicion of his intention at this adverse season.

Whilst waiting the result of Morah Pundit's expedition, Sevagi himself continued with the rest of his force in the territory of Ghour and Ramnagur, which bordered on the districts of the Portuguese, at Daman, and belonged to two petty Rajahs, who had allowed and concealed his march when he surprised Surat in 1664, and afterwards whenever required. These services had been requited with money and attentions, and now as a compliment, Sevagi tendered a visit

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1672

to the Rajah of Nannagur in his fort and being admitted seized and kept possession of it saying that it was inconvenient to trust him any longer with the key of his treasury for such he was wont to call Surat. The stations in the mountains were the only value of the territory belonging to the Rajahs to whom the low land of the Portuguese paid tribute for restraining from the plunder of its harvests. Sevagi sent a body of troops who having sufficiently displayed themselves, halted quietly at the barrier of Daman where their appearance, as it was intended to try raised the utmost consternation for although a regular fortification nothing was in readiness for defence. After some guns had been hauled up from the ditches to the bastions, an officer was sent to inquire the intention of Sevagi, who answered that he was an ambassador come to establish the same tribute, which used to be paid to the Rajahs.

At this time Sultan Maurum had returned to Aurengabad entrusted again with the supreme command of the Deccan, although immediately after his release from a confinement of two years, inflicted for causes not mentioned but probably from discoveries, which left doubts whether he would not have revolted in earnest if Sevagi when invited had joined him in 1666. The continuance of Delhure Khan in his command after the return of Sultan Maurum, seems to authorize the notion which the restoration of Sultan Maurum does not contradict since it was consonant with the deep and undaunted policy of

Aurengzebe,

Aurengzebe, to trust whom he suspected, with means which might tempt the venture, and a persuasion prevailed in the country that the Sultan was in intelligence with Sevagi on his arrival

SECT.

I

1672

Morah Pundit sailed in the intention of burning the king's vessels, which rode under the protection of the Siddee's ships, and of the castle, but he closely beset the town, and stopped all access, whether of trade or provisions. The new governor was a dependant on Sultan Mauzum, for in Indostan the connexion between the patron and client last through life, unless dissolved by permission, or treachery. Morah Pundit demanded an exorbitant ransom from the town, it was supposed by the governor's advice, who used the pretence to levy extravagant sums, even by violence, which with the continuance of the distresses from the enemy without, were intended, it was thought with the approbation of Sultan Mauzum, to drive the inhabitants in despair to open their gates to Sevagi. However as soon as the season permitted the fleets to put to sea, Morah Pundit compromised for the retreat of his army, at much less than his first demands but the sum was still great, and the governor reserved more of what he had collected, for himself.

Sevagi* in the mean time was looking out another way. England and France were at this period united in war against

* We have taken this excursion of Sevagi to Golconda, in 1672, from Carre

DECT 1
1672 the States of Holland. In the beginning of the year 1672
the fleet which Mr De La Haye brought from France, sailed
from Surat to make an establishment in the bay of Trincomalee, where they were opposed by a larger fleet of the
Dutch commanded by Rickloffe Van Goen the governor of
Ceylon Mr De La Haye leaving a part of his troops to
maintain the works he had raised in the bay sailed to the
coast of Coromandel and receiving some insulting answers
from the Moorish governor of San Thoint, landed and carried
the town by assault, which at that time belonged to the king
of Golcondah, whose forces had taken it thirteen years before
from the Portuguese, and the conquest, as from Europeans,
had been proudly rated All the stationed forces of the pro-
vince from Nelore to Sadras assembled to retake it, advanced
awkwardly and the king prepared to send a better army as
soon as the season should permit in December Seragi
received intelligence of these events and intentions from
his emissaries at Golcondah and in the Carnatic and
in the month of November went off from Raicee with 10 000
horse. No one knew whether the storm was directed it was
expected at Viziapore Ahmednagur and even at Autengabad
when he appeared almost as soon as the news of his approach
at Golcondah The adjacent city of Hyderabad was at this
time open but very populous and the resort of much opu-
lence he threatened to lay it in ashes, if he were not imme-
diately paid two millions of pagodas it is said that the
demand

demand was complied with, but we cannot believe to the extent With the collection he returned to Rahee as rapidly as he had come, and without interruption, although Sultan Mauzum was at this time advancing from Aurengabad, on a visitation to the king of Golcondah, from whom he intended to draw an offering to the Mogul Still to add to the boldness of Sevagi's excursion, he left his coasts, at this time threatened by the fleets from Suiat, which anchored off the island of Bombay, at the end of October, and asked permission to come into the harbour, intending to lay waste the Corlaks of Sevagi, but were refused admittance by the president Angier, who had lately come from Surat to regulate the doubtful state of the island. On which the fleets sailed to Dunda Rajapore, routed the attack on Gingerah, which continued from the shore, and destroyed several of Sevagi's vessels in the harbour, from whence they proceeded down the coast, landing in several creeks and rivers, in which they burnt the towns and vessels, but all this ruin was, at least in pecuniary value, more than compensated, by the money which Sevagi got at Golcondah The Siddees returning haughty from this expedition, now came into the harbour of Bombay, without asking leave, on the twenty-fourth of December, and were received with constrained civility The Siddee urged an alliance against Sevagi, whose agent on the island threatened an invasion as the consequence The Siddee seemed to acquiesce to the dilemma, which left the English no choice but strict neutrality, and after

SECT.
I
1672

~~SECRET~~
1
1672 after a month stay departed for Surat so well satisfied with his reception that he promised by his faith on the Alcoran never to commit hostilities on the Corlals of Seragi if he should at any time hereafter be admitted into the harbour. But his people with the habitual insolence of the Moors especially in the service of the Mogul burnt as they went away several of the houses in the town of Mazagong which had been allotted for their resort during their stay. We find nothing more concerning Seragi and his state in the course of the year 1672.

1673
2. 3. The Dutch commodore Rickloffe Van Goen, who had opposed Mr. De la Haye at Trincomalee, came in the beginning of the next year from Ceylon to the coast of Malabar with twenty two ships, having on board 1000 regular troops. They proceeded to the northward but advanced slowly in order to display their force to the ports and prances of the coast. The intention of the armament was to attack Bombay and Rickloffe sent forward a negotiation with Seragi for the assistance of 3000 of his men from the main offering in return the assistance of his fleet in the reduction of Gingerah but Seragi had concerted another enterprise which precluded this, although solicitous to him and Rickloffe having waited some time for his answer sailed on towards Bombay without the assurances he expected.

2. 16. These delays gave warning equal to the alarm. Five French ships had come into the harbour from Persia on the 28th of

December, and two days after failed to Surat, where four of them were lying, when the certainty of Rickloffe's approach was known, and immediately returned to Bombay, under the command of Mr Baron, the French director, seeking and bringing protection. There were in the harbour a Dutch prize and two frigates with three sloops lately built by the company to protect their trade from the Malabar pirates, who ranged at this time from Callicut to Surat. The English president, Mr Angier, exerted himself with the calmness of a philosopher, and the courage of a centurion. He assembled, and as far as the time allowed, disciplined the militia, which, Christian and Pagan, were 1500 men, all equally black; the genuine European military were 400. Of these troops he took the immediate command, as well as of the whole defence. The French ships and the company's vessels were stationed close to the shore, leaving proper openings for the cannon of the fort.

Rickloffe stood into the harbour in the night of the 20th of February, but kept at the bottom of the bay. The next day he came near enough to examine the dispositions of the defence, and then stood out to the western side of the island, off which his fleet kept plying and sounding for two days, and at length threatened a descent in the channel of Mahim, which separates the north side of the island from Salcette. Mr Angier marched thither with the troops, and displayed them in defiance along the shore, and Rickloffe was discou-

SECT ¹ 1073 raged although he had 6000 Europeans on board his fleet. He sailed for Surat from whence four ships belonging to the English company and richly laden, had been dispatched for England before his arrival.

Sevagi who had been as it were a spectator from his shores, of the contest amongst the three European nations, commenced soon after the expedition he had in contemplation. The King of Vizapore died in December and the general Bullal Khan gave the diadem to a prince, who although of the family was not the heir of the throne. The election discontented several governors of provinces, who were abetted by Sevagi, and not unwilling to see the aversion against the administration increased by the detriments of his hostilities who accordingly sent off an army to the country on the eastern side of the mountains at the back of Carwar and Goa, which abounded in manufacturing villages under many towns of mart which traded with the capital and the sea. Sevagi's troops destroyed every thing they did not carry away. Their booty was great, but in no one place so valuable, as at Hubely where they found a great store of cloth for exportation and all kinds of imported commodities, of which Hubely was the deposite. The country resounded with the caravans of plunder which were continually coming, and discharged at Rauree.

Sevagi himself soon after returned thither to make the most of his booty, and to appropriate the produce to his treasury but

but he brought back with him farther schemes against Vizia-pore, and left behind clandestine means of accomplishing them

srcr
I
1673.

Excepting the territory belonging to the Portuguese at Goa the sea coast with the country west of the mountains, from Rajapore to Mirzeou south of Carwar, still belonged to the king of Vizia-pore, some parts in immediate sovereignty, others through the hereditary vassalage of several Rajahs, and more chiefs of lesser note, called Desoys. The most considerable of these Indian principalities was the territory of Sundah, and of the immediate governments, Carwar Sevagi, during his late incursion on the other side the mountains, sent letters, emissaries, and money, to all these dependants on Vizia-pore, or to their officers, inciting them to rebel, and promising his assistance

The English company, as before, at the taking of Rajapore, had lost effects to a considerable value in the sack of Hubely. They had long been negotiating for compensation of the former damage. It happened in May, about the time Seyagi returned to Raïrec, that the Moguls and Siddee's fleet from Surat, anchored off Bombay, and required permission to pass the impending monsoon in the harbour. This opportunity was taken to send an Englishman again to renew the Rajapore demand, adding to it the new damage of Hubely. Seyagi promised immediate satisfaction, and every advantage, which his dominions could afford, if they would treat the Siddee, as

SECT
I
1679

an enemy and assist in reducing Gingerah But nothing at this time acquirable in India could have compensated the company's trade at Surat, which placed their fortune in the power of the Mogul and in deference to this danger the president Angier permitted the four principal frigates of the Mogul's fleet, to be hauled in shore under the care and protection of the garrison but suffered none of the crews to stay with them and utterly refused any of the rest or of the Siddees fleet either vessels or men to remain in the harbour or island who accordingly went away in much discontent, to get much less convenient shelter at Gingerah Sevagi approved this conduct, and promised a speedy adjustment of the Rajapore claim but said he knew of nothing taken at Hubely beyond the list produced by his officers which consisted of a parcel of furniture and trumpery valued at two hundred pagodas, whereas the real loss exceeded eight thousand He however pressed the English to settle again at Rajapore, with which they soon after complied and to sell him a great many cannon for the equipment of his fleet which they craved

The seas were left to the storms and tempests of the season and the mountains to their thunders and Sevagi who impatiently waited other signals than the elements, to appear abroad which happened in the beginning of July by the open revolt of the Phousdar or governor of Carwar who seized all the subordinate officers of his jurisdiction whom he suspected

SECT.

I

1673

pected of loyalty to his sovereign of Viziapore, then attacked such of the Desoys as refused to join him, and admitting no neutrality, took what stragglers or property he found unprotected belonging to the Portuguese at Goa, and even besieged the English factory at Caiwai, because they refused to supply him with arms and money. Eight thousand horse set off from Viziapore, (the fear of the Mogul's army prevented more) and waited at the foot of the mountains, to pass against the rebel Sevagi, whose intelligence was as quick as his views, was prepared to take advantage of this confusion, and directed his force from various quarters, where they had been stationed with this intention, and invested the strong and important fortress of Sataiah, which stands on the western side of the ridge, but itself on a mountain, surrounded by many others, which with the weather secured his circumvallation. No assistance came from Viziapore, and the place surrendered towards the end of August, it was the depository and refuge of much opulence and treasure. The silver, gold, jewels, and all the other plunder of value, were brought with ostentation to Raunc. Immediately after this expedition much bustle ensued by the motion and change of troops from one station to another, and twenty thousand wallets were prepared at Raunc, as if to bring away the plunder of some city. The report of the wallets turned the attention of the Mogul's army to the protection of Surat, and quieted the apprehensions of Viziapore, concerning Sevagi's intention to succour the rebels

of

1673 of Carwar But both were deceived for in the beginning of October 25 000 men marching over different passes of the Gaults, and by various routes within them suddenly united and invested the fortress of Pondah, which was situated 300 miles from Railee and forty s.w of Goa. It stood on the plain near the foot of the Gaults, and commanded the approach to the most frequented pass leading from the coast of Sundah and Goa, to the inland of Vimapore whose troops, engaged against the rebels of Carwar immediately retired over the Gaults by other passes leaving nothing to interrupt the siege of Pondah which from its situation alone was capable of long defence against such modes of attack as were in those days of usage in India and which even the genius of Sevagi had but little improved He had previously purchased eighty pieces of cannon, and lead sufficient for all his matchlocks, from the French director at Surat who had sent them to Rajapore, and they were brought as requisite to the camp at Pondah The Siddees fleet which had wintered under Gingerah and the Mogul's frigates, which had been hauled on shore at Boni bay put to sea on the return of the fair season and cruising down the coast took many vessels of trade and some of war belonging to Sevagi and his country and others by wilful mistake which as neutrals, the Siddee was bound to protect On the 10th of October the fleets, without message or warning came again into the harbour of Bombay and keeping at the bottom of the bay landed at the rivers Penn and Negotan in the

SECT

I

1673

the Corlahs of Sevagi, which they laid waste, with much unnecessary bloodshed, and brought away many of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to be sold for slaves. Bombay at this time drew all its provisions from these Corlahs, for the Portuguese, who had ever since the surrender of the island regarded the English establishment with malice, had lately, upon some disputes about duties, stopped all supplies from Salcette. Mr Angier remonstrated to the governor of Surat, as well as to the Siddee, against the violation of the harbour, of the Mogul's protection, and of the Siddee's oath, and represented the risques to which the island was exposed from the resentment of Sevagi in return for their defiance to the Mogul, by giving shelter to his fleets. But no arguments availed, and Mr Angier restrained his indignation, from sinking the Siddee's ships when they insolently anchored before the fort. On which the Siddee renewed his depredations in the Corlahs but after some days, troops arrived from Raicee, who surprised one hundred of the Siddee's, and cut every one of them to pieces without mercy. Soon after came down more, which completed 3000, who acted in conjunction, with council and vigilance. The Siddee landed the best part of his force, to try their strength, of which he was not well informed, and his troops were defeated with considerable loss. On this he recalled his smaller vessels from the mouths of the rivers, to the shores of Bombay, where, making a merit of fear, he promised to desist from farther hostilities in the harbour, and in December

RECORDED
1673
ember went away with the whole fleet to cruise at sea where meeting with little success, he returned to Surat and demanded money of the governor for the great expence of his exploits which set them a quarrelling

1674 The opening of the ensuing year found Sevagi still lying before the castle of Pondah on which his artillery had made so little impression, that he compounded with the governor to leave him unmolested in the castle with its district on condition that he should give no interruption to Sevagi's troops in maintaining the adjoining pass over the mountains, against the troops of Viziapore. Sevagi in this invasion reduced all the coast from Rajapore to the island of Bardex, which belonged to the Portuguese and was separated only by the harbour from the city and island of Goa. The city was not a little alarmed by the neighbourhood of Sevagi's operations which greatly distressed their trade and markets nevertheless, not attacked, they restrained from acting offensively for the sword of their ancient valour had long cankered in its spoils.

Sevagi leaving sufficient force to maintain these new acquisitions, returned to Raree in the beginning of April, so well satisfied with his success that he ordered preparations for his enthronement as a Rajah or Hindoo sovereign. He had long been entirely independent of any other power but the ceremony sanctified by the bramins was intended not only to insult the Mogul, and the two other mahometan kings with whom he was at war but especially to authenticate to his own

people his title, and the succession, as king of the Morattoe nation : of whose ancient territory, long divided into many portions of foreign yoke, he had now gathered the greatest part into one state, under his own authority — for the Morattoe language extends along the coast from the island of Bardez, to the river Tapti, of which Chaul, Bafien, and Damaun belonging to the Portuguese, and Surat to the Moors, were the only districts under other jurisdiction, and even to these he asserted right — on the other side of the mountains he had likewise conquered much of the ancient Morattoe country, and intended to comprise the whole under his dominion.

Although incensed by the late devastations of the Siddee, Sevagi was satisfied with Mr Angier's endeavours to prevent them and repeating his former request for cannon, invited an embassador to settle former discontents, but unluckily at this juncture, letters and messengers were continually coming from the governor of Surat, requesting that the Siddee's fleet might pass the approaching monsoon in the harbour, on which Sevagi threatened the effectual vengeance of assisting the Dutch fleet with 10,000 men to attack the island.

This fleet had returned from Surat to the coast of Coromandel, where in August they met, near Metchlepatam, a fleet of ten East Indiamen just arrived from England, which notwithstanding the superiority of Ricklosie's, which were twenty-two ships, would not, as they might, avoid the encounter, which was, nevertheless, maintained with obstinacy by only

src
I
1674
n. 20

SECT
I
1674 three of them of which, two dismasted were taken and the other ran ashore, rather than strike. Rickloffe soon after sailed to Ceylon and in the beginning of this year came again on the coast of Malabar and was advancing to the northward, sending forward reports of his intention to reduce Bombay in which he had failed the year before

This perplexity was increased by the appearance of the Siddees fleet, which anchored off the entrance of the harbour on the 24th of April. The same evening arose a violent gale of wind which (had they not intended) would have forced them to seek shelter under the Island. As soon as the weather abated they were requested to depart instead of which a great number of boats rowed up in the channel which divides the island from the main and landed at the north east point in the town of Sion out of which they drove the inhabitants, and took possession of their houses, intending to establish their quarters here during the monsoon but were driven out, by a frigate and part of the garrison. Soon after boats with 500 men in armed array endeavoured to land at Maza gong, the former station of their residence but were beaten back by the fire of cannon from the shore. These exertions had been encouraged by news that the Dutch fleet with Rickloffe had separated at Vingorlab some going to Surat, others to Persia others back to Ceylon. It was then agreed that only 500 men of the Siddees should continue on shore at a time without other arms than their swords, and under the watch of guards.

guards from the garrison, and that this permission should cease if they infested the Corlahs. The agent of Sevagi was at this time on the island negotiating a treaty, and representing what he had seen with integrity, Sevagi agreed to receive the embassy.

SECT.

I

1674

Mr Henry Oxenden was deputed, and Sevagi received his visit of compliment with politeness, but referred him to his ministers for the completion of the treaty, and afterwards employed himself for a month in purifications and other religious ceremonies dictated by his bramins, as necessary preparations for his enthronement, previous to which, he was publicly weighed against gold, and the sum amounting to 16,000 pagodas, was given to the bramins. The ceremony of the enthronement was magnificent, and imitated the Moguls. At the conclusion of the festivals 100,000 pagodas more were distributed amongst the bramins, and to the same amount in rewards to officers. Soon after the ministers concluded the treaty with Mr Oxenden, admitting eighteen of twenty articles proposed.

n. 31

Of the two rejected, one was the currency of Bombay money in Sevagi's dominions, which was made inconsiderately, because implying at least a partial controul of his treasury. Sevagi nevertheless dismissed it mildly, saying that he could not compel his subjects to take foreign money, but according to their own judgment. The other, was the exemption of English wrecks on his coast, which he said had been the property of the sovereigns from time immemorial,

n. 32

n. 33

SECT

1

1674

and if yielded to the English would be demanded by the other European nations. In the articles admitted, were comprised sufficient terms of amity and commerce but no alliance by a separate article Seragi allowed 10 000 pagodas for the damages sustained seven years before at Rajapore one half to be paid in ready money the other in beetle and cocoa nuts, to be delivered there but agreed to nothing for the loss at Hubely

Mr Oxenden tendered the mediation of Bombay to make peace between him and the Siddees which it should seem neither Bombay could guarantee nor the Siddee accept, without utter offence to the Mogul Seragi said that Gingerah had cost him too dear to relinquish the intention of reducing it and at this time a body of his troops were renewing batteries against it from the shore in which mode they had for fifteen years been endeavouring, without success, what three ships of war would have accomplished in three hours. Embassadors from Vixiapore had likewise followed Seragi from Pondah proposing an alliance against the Mogul who threatened Vixiapore as conniving at the successes of Seragi even in their own territory The embassadors were detained until the season of action approached, when Seragi dismissed them saying he was sufficient to his own defence

In the beginning of August his general Morah Pundit came down the Gault with 10 000 men and quartered in the ruined town of Gallian opposite to the island of Salcette, from hence,

SECT.

I

1674

whilst report terrified Suriat, and awed the Siddee's fleet in the harbour of Bombay, messengers were sent to Bassein, demanding the chout of all the Portuguese territory in these parts. The chout means the fourth part of the revenue, and this is the earliest mention we find of the claim, of which we have not hitherto been able to discover either the right or origin, but suppose it, wheresoever demanded, to arise from some pretension that the territory in ancient times belonged to a Rajpoot or Morattoe sovereignty. But enmity was the cause of the demand at present, for the Portuguese had lately inflicted great severities on many families of the Morattoe religion within their districts, because they refused to become Christians, and this time of retaliation, by requiring them to become tributaries, seems to have been expressly chosen; the Portuguese having lately endured, with little resistance, a much greater insult from a much inferior force.

The armada which used to cruise every year from Goa, to assert the sovereignty of the Indian seas, had the year before crooked over to the gulph of Persia, where they plundered several ships which had not taken their passes, and then proceeded to the port of Muscat, with which they had long been at continual war but not chusing to risque their ships against the castles that defend the entrance of the harbour, they landed without, and ravaged to the walls. They sailed away on their return to Goa, in the middle of October, and the Imaum, or prince, as soon as they were gone, equipped ten the stoutest

n 35

of

SECT I 1674 of the merchant ships of his port; which in December^{tr}
 near Diu fell in with a fleet of grain vessels escorted by ^p
 several Portuguese grabs and gallivats of which they took ap^d
 destroyed the greatest part and then sailed down to Bassin^r
 where in the beginning of February they landed 600 Arab^{is}
 who spread themselves, and plundered all the churches at^d
 country seats around restraining from no cruelty or violatioⁿ
 The garrison of Bassin exceeded the number of Arabs, w^{ho}
 had landed, but continued panic struck within their wal^{ls.}
 until they were gone And this pusillanimity exposed th^m
 to the contempt of all their neighbours. We do not find wh^{at}
 submission the governor of Bassin made to the demand^{of}
 Morah Pandit, who waiting the farther intentions of Seva^{gi,}
 lived on the Portuguese country, but avoided outrage in^{the}
 extraction of provisions.

The continuance of Morah Pandit's force at Gallian h^{is}
 ened the departure of the Siddee's fleet, for fear of being bu^{nt}
 in the harbour with the connivance of the government^{of}
 Bombay towards which they carried themselves with m^{ore}
 respect than in their former sojournments. They sailed in^{the}
 beginning of September More troops were continually c^{om}
 ing down the Gant and on the 5th of October Seragi c^{ame}
 himself to review them amounting in equal numbers of h^{orse}
 and foot to 25 000 men, which a few days after went up^{the}
 hill, towards Jenneah with no other artillery than iron cr^{bws}
 and pickaxes.

It

SECT.

I.

1671

It was soon evident that Sevagi in person was in the field he fell upon the Mogul's camp, although consisting of 40,000 horse, and effected tenfold more rout than his own loss, his parties spread to unexpected distances, and committed every kind of ravage, burning the villages, destroying the productions of the soil, and carrying off the affluent commerce of the high roads, by which seven cities resort to Surat, which barricaded its gates one detachment pushed to the walls of Brampore, plundering all the opulent marts of cloth between this city and Aurengabad. Sevagi in the mean time hovered about the rock of Jenneah, and formed a scheme to surprise it. Two men of the party got to the summit, and were discovered, when the usual defence of rolling down the stones piled for the purpose dispersed the rest. The sudden junction and separation of the different parties abroad, bewildered and intimidated the pursuit of the Mogul's troops, from uncertainty of their routs and numbers, so that little of the spoil was abandoned in the retreat. As soon as all had rejoined the standard, Sevagi returned with the whole to Raicee, where he arrived in the month of February 1675, and immediately entered upon another expedition, for which preparations had been making during his absence.

1675.

Bombay was at this time relieved from the apprehension of farther attempts from the Dutch, by the peace concluded with Holland in February of the preceding year, of which the advices had arrived in October, but in this interval

Madraſſ

SECT
I
1675 Madras had been threatened by Rickloffe Van Goen who had joined the forces of Golcondah with 1000 Europeans, against St. Thomé which they reduced M de la Haye to surrender in September 1674* after a defence of two years and three months, maintained through continual loss with unabated vigour. The King of Golcondah refused to give the place to Rickloffe who equally disappointed by the peace in his intentions against Madras, had only removed its most dangerous rival. Soon after the Dutch revenged in some measure, the injuries which the European commerce had lately sustained from the avaricious governor of Surat 'where, in the beginning of the year 1675 † whilst Seragis troops were at the gates, arrived in the road seven Dutch ships of war which seized all the ships of the port and detained them from their voyages, until the government submitted to the compensation required'. The Siddee's fleet which sailed from Bombay in September, had proceeded to Surat but left it in fear before the Dutch arrived thereo after which they continued cruising along Seragis coasts, with little success for his fighting vessels were hauled ashore, waiting until reinforced to a more equal match, by such as were building, and all traders had been warned to keep in port. Nor had the Siddee's been more successful in quelling the cannonade against Gingerah from whence they

Chardin also speaks of this surrender of St. Thomé.

* The whole of this quarrel between the Dutch and the government of Surat is circumstantially related by Chardin. During the dispute the Dutch sent two jatches to ask leave to establish a factory at Cambay

came to Bombay in February, distressed with every want, and soon after proceeded to Surat, where they continued through the ensuing monsoon.

SECT

I

1675

By this time the rebellion of the Pitans of Pishavir and Cabul had become the most solicitous concern of the empire. Some successes obtained over detached parties in the year 1673, induced the Mogul's Governor of Pishavir to pass the Indus with all his army, intending to force their strong holds in the mountains, but the Pitans inclosed the army amongst the defiles, and destroyed the whole, with their commander. Not having despaired of the chance of such a success, they had prepared a king, whom they proclaimed, not only as sovereign of their own tribes, but of the whole empire.

It is well known that in the contention of Aurengzebe for the throne, his brother, the Sultan Sujah, who as well as Darah had the priority of birth, was defeated and driven out of Bengal by the general Emir Jumlah. According to the prevalent report of the time, he was murdered with his family and followers by a Rajah, on the confines of Arracan, but as his head had never been produced, nor the fact vouched by any persons who knew him before his flight, some credit was given to other reports, that he had escaped, which is believed, as we are informed, in the island of Sooloo, far from Arracan and Bengal, where his tomb is shewn at this day. This uncertainty of his fate, furnished credulity and intrigue with pretensions to assert, that he continued alive in Indostan, con-

n. 36.

n. 37.

SECT

I

1675

cealed now here, now there but ready to appear on any favourable opportunity of asserting his right to the throne. Aurengzebe was convinced of his death but was very attentive to the use which might be made of the reports of his being alive.

A Pitan soldier had served in the army of Sultan Sujah and bore such resemblance to him in countenance and figure, that they might, under similar ornaments, have been mistaken for one another. It is said that he had acquired the imitation of his manners and deportment, and with less probability that he had apprised himself of many minute particulars of his life it is not unlikely that glimpses of this apparition had given rise to the reports that Sujah himself was still alive. The Pitans produced this adventurer with ostentatious respect as King of Indostan and all the tribes were summoned to march with him to Delhi.

The whole nation could bring 150 000 fighting men into the field and had they been united could never have been reduced by the Moguls, to whom they always paid malignant submission and the general character of the people (who as by nature craving arrogant, and cruel are by principle treacherous, revengeful and void of gratitude) rendered it unsafe to conciliate their leaders by high appointments, of which the denial increased the national antipathy. The news of such an enemy supporting a pretender to the throne, agitated the very palace of the monarch and the ambition

ambition of distant conquest yielded to the vital danger of rebellion

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I

1675

Aurengzebe^f pitched his tent, and displayed the standard of the empire, to which all his banners repaired with the indispensable alacrity of which he set the example. The whole under his own immediate conduct, marched from Delhi, as near as we can combine in April 1674, and crossed the Indus at the end of the year. On his departure Sultan Mauzum was recalled to preside in the capital, and had performed nothing remarkable during this his second administration of the Decan, excepting the levy of a large sum of money from the king of Golcondah, in 1672, immediately after Sevagi had exacted a more excessive contribution.

The governor of Pondah kept no regard to his terms, as soon as Sevagi was engaged in distant hostilities, but renewed his dependence on Vizia pore, which Sevagi determined to revenge, and as soon as he returned from ravaging the Mogul's territory, gave the general Bahadar Khan, who ought to have protected it better, a large bribe out of the plunder, for a cessation of hostilities until Pondah should be reduced. Troops had marched and invested the place before Sevagi's return, but although active their numbers were insufficient - twenty thousand more were sent, and Sevagi himself followed in the month of March, visiting Rajapore in the way, where

n 38

* Chardin seems to imply, that Aurengzebe was at Lahor in 1674 and 1675

SECT
1675
I
 he kept his magazines of war for his southern territories in the
 Concan great loss was sustained in the siege which we find
 spoken of famously the place was taken at the end of April
 but we are uncertain whether by treachery assault, or surrender
 He then attacked the neighbouring territory of Sundah in
 which were several strong forts, whose garrisons resisted with no
 other effect than to increase the miseries of the country and
 their own. The town of Carwar was burnt, because the castle
 did not surrender on the first summons Sevagi in person
 gave the order but received the English factors with civility
 and exempted the factory from violence. The whole country
 was reduced as far as to the river Mirzeou, which is the
 northern limit of the kingdom of Canara. The queen of this
 country sent gifts, and solicited the assistance of Sevagi, against
 some of her ministers and relations. The Portuguese at Goa
 were hemmed within their own districts, and as before not
 suffered to get provisions from the adjacent country. The
 operations continued through the rains, and detained Sevagi
 himself from Raicee until the end of August

Aurengzebe was at this time returned from the Indus to
 Delhi, and assailed as it were by the clamours of the Deccan,
 made severe reproaches to his general Bahadar Khan urging
 the utmost exertions, which Sevagi expected and defied re-
 forcing his batteries against Gingerali and sending parties to
 scour the country about Surat, where the governor had re-
 ceived the same injunctions as Bahadar, and strengthened the

Siddec's fleet with two large ships, two frigates, and two thousand men. nevertheless, with the usual dilatoriness, even when in earnest, it was the middle of November before either the fleet or the army were in motion to purpose, when a large detachment forced through the passes in the ridge, and encamped at Gallian, and at the same time the fleet arrived in the harbour of Bombay, from whence they sent a reinforcement to the camp, and then sailed down the coast

SECT.
I.
1675.

Gallian, with the country below the hills, as far to the north as Daman, excepting the districts of the Portuguese, had been reduced by Sevagi, and, with his fertile Corlahs to the southward, lay exposed to the devastation of the Mogul's army, from which they were nevertheless preserved by a bargain of redemption, and Bahadar Khan, on receiving 10,000 pagodas from Rancee, went up the hill again, without having committed any ravage. The terms were so publicly known, that we suppose the sum was accounted for to the king's treasury, as a homage. But the operations of the Siddee were not restricted by this agreement, they landed and plundered in several parts, as they proceeded down Sevagi's coast, and at length burnt the fair town of Vingorlah, near Goa, where the Dutch had a factory, which defended itself. The fleet of Sevagi had by this time been increased to fifty-seven sail, of which fifteen were grabs, the rest gallivats, all crowded with men, they put to sea from Gheriah and Rajapore, but missed the Siddee's fleet, which, on their return, went to the relief of

Gingerah

SECT Gingerah. Gallian being clear Seragi's troops at the end of
I
1675 the year began to fortify opposite to a fort called Sibon belong-
" 39. ing to the Portuguese, in the neighbourhood of Bassin which produced some slender hostilities but the work con-
 tinued

1676 In the beginning of the next year 1676 it was reported and believed that Sevagi was ill, dead and poisoned by his son Sambagi at Raurec this young man possessed all the courage and activity of his father but little of his discretion or forecast he was intemperately addicted to women, and had debauched the wife of a braman whose dwelling was on the side of the rock to which Sambagi used to descend at night Sevagi ordered the guards to fling him headlong down the precipice, the first time he should attempt to get out of the fort after the watch was set. This menace gave rise to the report of Sambagi's revenge but the certainty of Seragi's illness was confirmed by his long continuance at Raurec, whilst the season was fair for the operations of the field

Early in April, Siddee Sambole, who had hitherto commanded both fleets, came from Gingerah to Bombay with the Moguls, but with few of the Siddees having quarrelled with some of the principal commanders, as well as with the governor of Gingerah who had concerted to seize him which had hastened his departure sooner than he intended The cause of the quarrel seems to have been the embezzlement of money to which the community were entitled and the same dishonestly

nefily in his accounts with the Mogul had set the governor of Surat at much variance with him, dreading which he pressed hard to winter at Bombay, but the prudence of Mr Angier, who had lately returned to Surat, foreseeing trouble to the island, either by refusal or admittance procured an invitation from the governor of Surat, with assurance of oblivion on which Sambole sailed thither with all the vessels he had brought, leaving the harbour on the 8th of April.

SECT.
I.
1676.

At the end of this month, Sevagi's general, Morah Pundit, came down to Gallian with 10,000 horse, of which a detachment with a great number of labourers, proceeded to the northward, and took possession of a ruined fort called Pannela, which stands on a hill, ten miles inland of Daman, and commands the frequented road to Surat. Sevagi himself soon after came to superintend the work, which continued until the fort, such as it is now seen, was raised above the danger of assault. Sevagi, on his return to Railee, sent all his troops, excepting what he left at Pannela, to their winter quarters. In July all the Siddee's vessels, which had continued at Gingerali, came to Bombay, in order to spare the provisions of their own garrison they were commanded by Siddee Cossim, who had superseded the influence and command of Siddee Sambole.

If it were permitted to adopt conjecture, deduced from a variety of circumstances and events, we should give the following account of this community.

The appellation, of which the literal meaning is not ascertained,

SECT

I

1676

tained was applied in the Decan to natives of Abyssinia of whom several either as slaves or adventurers, in former times gained ascendance over a king of Viziapore, and were exalted by him to the highest employments in the state. They gathered all of their own country they could procure either by purchase or invitation and even the Coffees of other parts of Africa. The natural courage of these people not unmixed with ferocity and always foremost in battle, awed the envy of their rivals howsoever indignant from the pride of ancient Mahomedan descent, although the Siddees had likewise taken this religion.

Their first marriages were with natives of India, and afterwards among their own families which preserving the nationality in time formed a numerous community distinct in figure, colour and character from all the other races of Mahomedans which nevertheless could not have subsisted if the body of the people amongst whom they had intruded had been as themselves Mahomedans, instead of Hindoos, indifferent to the distinctions of extraneous despots, they equally abhorred. At the time of Sevagi's revolt from Viziapore, three of the principal provinces of the kingdom were governed by Siddees, of whom the admiral of the fleet was one and had under his jurisdiction a considerable extent of the sea coast to the north and south of Gingerah when Sevagi got possession of Dunda Rajapore when as we have said before, the Siddees of the fleet and Gingerah with such as escaped to them off

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the main, offered their vessels and service to Aurengzebe, but reserved the property of Gingeraḥ, and the right to whatsoever they might recover of their former fiefs, now lost to Viziapore. Besides their vessels of war, they had ships and other embarkations employed in trade, which contributed as much to their subsistence as the stipends of Aurengzebe. Reverence to the higher family, and to the Mogul's choice, had given the pre-eminence of command to Siddee Sambole; but the other captains preserved the distinct command over their own crews and dependants, and an aristocratical council determined the general welfare of this singular republic, in which the lowest orders, from their skill and utility, maintained some influence, and proud of their importance, merited it, by the alacrity of their service, insomuch, that they excelled all the navigators of India, and even rated themselves equal to Europeans; and indeed the onset of their sword was formidable in boarding, and on shore.

Siddee Cossim was received with respect by the English government at Bombay, and took his abode at Mazagong, where the larger vessels rode, and the smaller were hauled on shore. They continued here until the middle of August, when Morah Pundit came down the Gauts with 10,000 men to renew the attack of Gingeraḥ, where they felled all the wood around to make floating platforms with breast-works, from which the walls were to be assaulted. On which Siddee Cossim went away with three hundred of his best men, to rein-

enqr force and maintain the defence, and all the others followed as soon as the vessels could safely put to sea.

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1676 Sevagi himself continued at Raicee as we compute until the end of June; when the rains had ceased and this was the longest repose of his life that he had withheld himself from personal exertions in the field ever since he had first drawn his sword for it lasted eight months. He then set out on an expedition of which no one knew the object and in July appeared in sight of Golcondah with twelve thousand horsemen but twice that number of horses for every rider had two⁴⁴ whose march had been so rapid and conducted with so much obscurity that the government had not been apprised of it in time to collect a body of troops capable of opposing them nor even to barricade the inlets into the opulent city of Hyderabad neither had the rich inhabitants sufficient warning to remove their families and wealth! Even the king was precluded from taking refuge in the fortress of Golcondah but continued in his palace in the city, which Sevagi having sufficiently terrified with his marauders, encamped at some distance, but nearer to the fortress, and sent his demands to the ministers, of a vast ransom for refraining from burning the whole city to the ground besides a daily sum for the maintenance of his troops, until the ransom should be paid. Here likewise as formerly at Gallian and Surat, he knew every wealthy house and he let them know that they could rely on no security except by taking his safeguards,

which

SECT

I.

1676.

which, instead of papers, were a few trusty men from the camp, and so great was the dismay, that this protection was sought with avidity, and paid for to his treasury at excessive rates by every family of distinction. In the mean time a negotiation was going on with the ministers, who sent every day five thousand rupees as an allowance for provisions to his troops, who bought none, but lived on what they levied by contributions or got by plunder from the country. At length Sevagi agreed to visit the king, but as he would not admit of any superiority in the ceremonial, it was settled that both should enter at opposite doors of the hall, advance, accost, and sit down, at the same time, after which the conference was to begin. It lasted a while, during which more of Sevagi's troops were continually coming into the city and assembled round the palace, until the number of horsemen amounted to six thousand, all of whom drew up, and kept their order, as exactly as if under review, and whensoever Sevagi came to the windows, which he did several times to shew them that he was alive, all in sight looked up immediately, and fixing their eyes only on him, preserved the most profound silence, expecting his word. By this example, Sevagi meant to shew the king the affection as well as obedience of his troops. The purport of their conference was never known, but it doubtless turned on their equal detestation of the Mogul. Some days after (it was in August) Sevagi was satisfied, and broke up his camp, to which the

- sect About the year 1645 a descendant of this Gchetooking¹ of Chandergherrⁱ permitted the English to purchase the ground of Chinapatnam on which they raised Fort St George, and the town of Madras Seven years after the Carnatic was invaded by the armies of Viziapore and Golcondah holding separately but agreed it is supposed in the objects and division of their conquests which were accomplished in the year
1677
- " 41 1656 The forces of Viziapore reduced Velore, which probably was their first acquisition with all the forts in the valley of Vaniambady and on the hills on each hand as far to the south as Darmapuram from hence eastward to Volcondah and along the river Valaru, on which it stands, to Pottanava on the sea from hence along the coast to the North as far as Cannanore to the south as far as the Coleroon with all the forts and districts a few excepted within the diagonal line returning to the north west from Cannanore to Arcot, and
n 43 Velore it is said the kingdom of Tanjore was likewise reduced by Viziapore, but we have met with no documents to confirm this position The army of Golcondah, led by the famous Emur Jumlah, reduced Cudapah and all the hilly country which stretcheth north of Velore, from Gandicotal towards
n 46

* We find the name of this King to be Seriga Rajah. A chart describing the way from Pullicat to Masipatam says " Mansewaka, first stage Dutch Cooppa : Village given to them in the year 1670, by Seriga Rajah last King of Carnatica. Observe this village was given the same year we compute the English settled at Madras —See note 44

the sea, with all the open country and the sea coast between the rivers Penai, and Pahai, which disembogue at Nellore and Sadras. Soon after this conquest Emu Jumlah revolted, and joining Auriengzeb, at that time his father's Viceroy in the Deccan, they besieged the king of Golcondah in his capital, who, to preserve his diadem, submitted his government to the control of the Mogul, which had continued until this time, and enabled Bahadar Khan to procure the humiliating permission which Sevagi requested.

The want of contemporary record has disabled us from acquiring any regular account of Sevagi's expedition into the Carnatic, although on ground in which the arms and interests of our nation have of late years taken so much concern; he returned not to Rauree, as had hitherto been his usage, at the setting in of the rains, but rendezvoused in May of the year 1667, in a fortress belonging to the king of Golcondah, from whom he had perhaps obtained the permission, in their conference the year before, from hence he set off with his whole force, passed by Tripetti, and afterwards within fifteen miles of Madras, but seems to have made his main push directly against Gingee, of which with Volcondah and several other forts we find him in possession in the month of July, and it is probable that he had reduced much more, for some of his parties at this time plundered as far as Seringapatam in Mysore. It was impossible that this rapid success should have been the mere effect of his arms, but that availing himself of the dif-

SLCT

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1677

n 47

n 48

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SECT

I
1677

cords which prevailed in the council of Vizapore, he had gained several of the principal members, whose recommendations facilitated his compromises with the governors in the Carnatic. He appointed Hargee Rajah his viceregent in the conquered country and fixed its capital at Gingee. Whether detained by the prosecution or regulation of his conquests we cannot ascertain but it does not appear that he quitted the Carnatic before the beginning of the year 1678.

Siddee Sambole with the Mogul's ships, and what remained with him of his own community sailed from Surat in October 1676 on a cruise against Sevagi's coasts and in December burnt the town of Jettapore which stands at the mouth of the river twelve miles from the mart of Rajapore but troops from hence deterred the Siddees from advancing farther up the river they then proceeded back to Gingerah, where the garrison strengthened by Siddee Cossim's reinforcement, and encouraged by his activity, had frustrated the floating batteries of Morah Pundit, who returned to Railee. Positive orders had come from Delhi that the Mogul's fleet should be delivered to Siddee Cossim, which Sambole promised to obey at the close of the season and on this reconciliation, both fleets together came into the port of Bombay at the end of April where Sambole promised from day to day to depart for Surat, but loitered until the monsoon set in when it was impossible to put to sea and then took up his residence, as usual, at Mazgong.

A wicked

SECTR.

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1677

A wicked bramin, who was an inhabitant of the opposite shore, came and offered Siddee Sambole to seize several persons, whom he represented as of much respect in Sevagi's government. The Siddee, afraid of discovery, gave him money to hire a boat and men belonging to the island, which set off as if on the ordinary occasions of traffick, and brought back four bramins, whom the Siddee confined with all secrecy on board his own ship, so that the first intelligence which the government of Bombay received of the felony, was by letters from Sevagi's governor of upper Chaul, threatening a total prohibition of provisions and fire-wood from the main, and even worse consequences, unless the bramins were immediately restored. The Siddee at first denied the fact, and then his share of it, but complied. Soon after eleven of the boat's crew were taken, of whom three were executed, and the others sent to Saint Helena.

The fair season returned before the competition between the two Siddee's was reconciled. Sambole insisted on two of the largest of the Mogul's ships to carry himself with his retinue and family to Surat, and on the release of his wives and children, who were detained by Cossim as hostages at Gingera, but on receiving an order from the governor of Surat to surrender them, Cossim tendered his compliance to Sambole, who nevertheless continued to prevaricate, which so incensed Cossim, that he marched from his quarters near the fort with his retinue, which was three hundred men, and attacked the

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quarters.

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1677

quarters of Sambole who had nearly the same number at Mazagong The report of matchlocks and pistols first apprised the fort which detached the best of the garrison with the troop of horse, who fell indiscriminately on both parties, until they had quelled the riot which was not instantly effected for three of the troopers horses were killed as was the horse on which Sambole was fighting Many of the combatants were wounded and some slain mostly by the sword The council obliged the two chiefs to send all excepting a few menial servants to the ships but permitted the continuance of the watch over the vessels hauled on shore lest boats from Sevagi Corlahs should attempt to burn them in the night.

The council then interceded as mediators, and brought the two Siddees to agreement Sambole to have his family and one of the Mogul's ships Cossim to receive all the others who accordingly hoisted his flags as admiral of both the fleets, which a few days after sailed out of the harbour in the beginning of November

Morah Pundit during the truce with the Mogul and the expedition of Sevagi to the Carnatic, had visited and provided all the garrisons in and dependent on the Concan, and kept what troops were left for the field with as much care as if every day were to have produced hostility which the Mogul's generals would before this time have renounced had they not been engaged with little success against the army of Viziapore.

42-578

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We now resume the war which Aurengzebe had conducted in person against the Pitans beyond the Indus, where he arrived in the beginning of the year 1675, before which a part of his vanguard had crossed the river, whom the Pitans defeated, and put to death even the prisoners of their victory, but after the main army, with Aurengzebe himself, had passed, the Pitans confined their resistance to skirmishes, the defence of posts, and night assaults on the camp, which protracted the war for fifteen months, but numbers at length prevailed, for the Mogul army was sufficient to people the country they attacked After all the more habitable valleys were reduced, the Pitans retired into the more inaccessible mountains, in which Aurengzebe did not think it worth the prize to expose his troops, nor his own presence farther necessary, but establishing a chain of posts, and leaving a sufficient force to defend the conquered country, under the command of a general especially selected, returned himself to Delhi, from whence he had been absent twenty-seven months, which, according to our computation, extended to July of the year 1676 Nevertheless the work was not yet finished to his mind, and he continued at Delhi waiting the completion he had prepared

The former governors of Pishaur and Cabul had always kept the Pitans under severe restrictions, and their chiefs at imperious distance But Cossim Khan, whom Aurengzebe appointed on his return to Delhi, assumed a different conduct.

SECT.

I

1678.

n 49

1678
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He remitted the arrears, and lowered the rates of their tributes treated their chiefs with equality and even frequented them with slender attendance and negligent familiarities, which left him at their mercy submitting to incur their contempt, in order to gain their confidence but no coquescences could induce them as he hoped to deliver up the pretended Sultan He, however diverted them from any sinister suspicions of himself and got all who especially supported the pretender to come to a festival at Pishavir in which he made them drunk with intoxicated wine, when bands, concealed for the purpose came in and massacred them all whilst others overpowered their retinues. The impostor on the destruction of his protectors, escaped over the mountains into Persia, and was never after heard of Thus execrable deed, Autengrebe himself was obliged, by the public detestation to reprobate and recalling Cossim Khan degraded him to the lowest rank of Omrals but privately assured him of favour whose exculpation, had he dared to make any would have been death To soothe or obviate the vengeance of the Pitans, he sent first his son Aecbar and then Sultan Mauzum, to Pishavir But the Pitans were too much disconcerted by the loss of their chief, to recur to arms.

The consent or indifference of Autengrebe to Seragi's expedition into the Carnatic may be imputed either to the devotion of his attention to the Pitans, or to his belief that Seragi would waste his force unprofitably at such a distance, against

so strong a country. But this reasoning proved the importance of the conquest, which was not only sufficient to maintain itself, but, with the parsimony of Sevagi's warfare, to furnish means for other invasions. Vizia poore now became as much exposed to his attacks from the Carnatic on one side, as from the Concan on the other, and the rich countries to the south of the Coleeroon lay at the mercy of his activity from Gingee, whenever disengaged from other exertions.

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I.

1678.

Accordingly this increase of his power excited the indignation of Auengzebe, in proportion to the obstacles it might create to his own views of reducing the Peninsula. He sharply rebuked Bahadar Khan, for having been mistaken in the consequence of his truce with Sevagi, and sent back Delhire Khan with a separate command, ordering him at least to press the conquest of Vizia poore, if he could not make impression on Sevagi's countries, who returning from the Carnatic, ravaged in Vizia poore, destroying the towns and tillage until the beginning of February 1678, when Delhire Khan with his army entered the country, and Sevagi, making the most of every turn, then offered his assistance to the king, which was accepted, and enabled the state to make head against all the efforts of Delhire Khan. Sevagi returned to Rairee in April, after an absence of nineteen months, the longest since he had fixed his residence there.

Siddee Cosim with the fleets, after quitting Bombay in November 1677, continued cruizing along the coast of the Con-

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SECT
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1678 can landing frequently but gaining little pillage, in lieu of which they seized what inhabitants they could catch and made them, indiscriminately even bramins, the slaves of menial office. In March they came to Dunda Rajapore, where they continued until the governor of Surat had gained permission of the English presidency for their wintering again in Bombay, where they arrived at the end of April and hauled their smaller vessels on shore as formerly at Mazagong and moored the larger as close to it as they could be many of the men took up their dwelling in the town and daily committed violence and injuries on the inhabitants, who were, for the most part, Gentoos.

Morah Pundit, Anagi Pundit, and most of the officers of the higher ranks in Sevagi's government were bramins and Sevagi in deference to their execration of this inexpiable impurity which Siddee Cossim had inflicted on the bramins he had taken prisoners, consented to indulge their proposal of burning the two fleets at Bombay which moreover had for many years been the only obstacle to the reduction of Gingerah. Accordingly Dowlet Caun, and Deira Sirang the two admirals of his own fleet came down with 4000 men in the month of July to Panwell a large town on the river Penn, on the eastern shore of the harbour but found not boats sufficient to transport them and the monsoon prevented the procurement of more from other parts without the bay on this disappointment Dowlet Caun marched with the men to Galan,

SECT
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brought money into his country and a proof of the influence of this consideration soon after occurred

1678 The Soubadar or governor of upper Chaul had claims of money arising from traffick upon Petit, one of the company's factors, and on a Banian, who was brother to their broker at Surat delays of payment had been long practised and the Soubadar relying on the vexation of Seragi at the disappointment of burning the Siddeo's fleet seized all the boats belonging to Bombay which chanced at this time to be trading in the rivers, and ports of his jurisdiction Thirty were in the river Penn and Negotan within the harbour opposite to the island The council of Bombay armed four boats with sixty Europeans, who attacked and beat off the guard, and brought back most of the boats which had been seized The Soubadar complained to Seragi of this insult in his territory who said the English had done right, and ordered him to release all the trade and vessels he had stopped in any part of his government

Towards the end of the year the batteries of Seragi were playing furiously upon the island of Gingerah, whilst Siddeo Colim, unable to pay his men for want of remittances from Surat was constrained to continue in the harbour of Bombay We have no account of what operations had ensued between the Moguls troops and those of Viziapore since the month of May

1679 The year 1679 opened with a new war conducted by Aurengzebe in person which leads us to recall an important measure

measure in his government, so contrary to all the notions of sound policy, as well as all the feelings of general humanity, that reflection seeks the motive with amazement

SECT.

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1679

It is well known that Aurengzebe used the mask of religious austerity, amongst his other means of acquiring the throne. Of his brothers, Darah had written a treatise, endeavouring to reconcile the doctrines of Bramah with the tenets of the Alcoran, Sujah had no religion, and Morad drank wine to excess, and the indulgence of their father, Shah Jehan, to all persuasions, incurred the reproach of indifference to his own Assumed practices of general estimation can never be comfortably relinquished, but the hypocrisy of Aurengzebe increased with his power, and in order to palliate to his Mahomedan subjects, the crimes by which he had become their sovereign, he determined to enforce the conversion of the Hindoos throughout his empire by the severest penalties, and even threatened the sword, as if the blood of his subjects were to wash away the stains, with which he was imbrued by the blood of his family

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A few petty Rajahs were lured by better appointments to conversion, but the people clung to their pagodas, some preachers were put to death, which incensed the spirit of martyrdom An old woman led a multitude in arms from Agra towards Delhi, whom Aurengzebe defeated in person The religious vexation continued Labour left the field, and industry the loom until the decrease of the revenues drew

I.

representations

n 53

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1679 representations from the governors of the provinces which induced Aurengzebe to substitute a capitation tax as the balance of the account between the two religions. It was laid with heavy disproportion on the lower orders of Hindoos, which compose the multitude insomuch that the produce if we understand the account would have amounted to half the ancient revenue few nevertheless, bartered their faith for the exemption and thousands perished under the oppression

* 54. Abnir Chitore and Joudpore are the three great Rajah ships of Indostan. Abnir adjoins to the west of the province of Agra and to the north of Axmir Chitore lies on the west of Malva Joudpore of Chitore, extending to the Indus and both these principalities adjoin to the north of Guzerat. The races of the Rajpoots, who possess the three countries are acknowledged the noblest in the empire no inferior castes are admitted to the honour of bearing arms amongst them and when united, they can bring 200 000 fighting men into the field. The Mogul had often endeavoured to subject them to amenable vassalage but had never been able to obtain their acquiescence to more than ceremonious acknowledgments and rated subsidies of troops. The situation of their countries enabled them to retaliate injuries in the centre of the empire but attached to their soil as ground in which their deities, as well as ancestors had lived, few of their princes had been ambitious of increasing their territory. Jising as we have seen, was Rajah of Abnir and Jesswont Sing of Joudpore Both

had served in the revolution of Aurengzebe in 1676, but we do not find in the cotemporary accounts of that period, any mention of the Rajah of Chitore, although the first of the three in ancientry and respect, and styled the Ránah, or lord of the Rajahs

SECT
I
1679.

Jysing died at Brampore, soon after the pretended revolt of Sultan Mauzum, and seems to have been poisoned by the procurement of Aurengzebe, his son Ram Sing was at that time serving with a body of Rajpoots in attendance at Delhi, and admitted the capitation tax in his country Aurengzebe then proposed it, but with an alternative, and by an ambassador, to the Ranah, "That he should no longer strike coin "with his own name, but with Aurengzebe's, that king might "be killed in his territory, that the pagodas should be demolished, or converted into mosques, that justice should be administered according to the Alcoran, and that if these terms were refused, his whole people should be subject to "the general capitation of the Hindoos"

The Ranah remonstrated to gain time, which Aurengzebe likewise wanted, until his military preparations were ready, having two wars of equal difficulty to wage, and whilst waiting, came the option of a third The Rajah Jeffwont Sing died in the beginning of the year 1678, leaving a high spirited widow, and two sons, not yet arrived at man's estate Aurengzebe, to get them into his power, invited them to Delhi, they came even to the suburbs, but receiving some

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SECT I suspicion set off hastily on their return the same night, and
1679. were pursued by five thousand horse, whom two hundred
and fifty devoted Rajpoets stopped at a pass, until the escape
of the princes was secured

On this, Aurengzebe called up his sons Azim and Echar from their governments of Bengal and Multan but without waiting for their junction took the field himself in October 1678 with his two armies the one under his own conduct against Chitore and Joudpore the other of Sultan Mauzum against Seragi. Both held the same rout as far as the province of Malva on their approach the Ranah and the widow called on all the Hindoo powers for assistance

Sultan Mauzum arrived at Brampore in the beginning of January 1679 and advanced to Aurengabad where he fixed his court. The strict severity of Seragi's character which permitted no relaxation either to himself or others from the occupations of war and government had long grown irksome to the headstrong licentiousness of his son Sambagi who what few had ever done, contrived his scheme and correspondence without incurring the suspicion of his father and went off with two thousand horse from Raicee to Aurengabad where he was expected and received by Sultan Mauzum with the utmost complacence.

At this time the Pitan Bullal Khan minister and general of Vizapore who had assassinated his predecessor in that station Cowis Cawd the Siddee, was himself assassinated and Serji

Serji Khan, important by his domains, had acquired the principal influence in the state. As new ministers rarely adopt the systems of those they succeed, Serji Khan yielded to the requisitions of Sultan Mauzum, demanding the assistance of Viziapore against Sevagi, to which the defection of his son Sambagi was no little encouragement. Sevagi saw and met the storm with his usual intrepidity, and fixed himself with the best of his force in Pannela, his nearest frontier to Viziapore, and the southern parts of the Mogul Country.

This alacrity, with the approach of the rains, stopped the confederates from taking the field, until they had increased their preparations. Nor had the danger deterred or diverted Sevagi from other exertions, for, on his son's defection, a body of his troops from Ranee appeared and ravaged within sight of Surat, and his preparations at sea were continued with unabated endeavour and expence.

It was now seven years that he had been increasing his fleet to become a match for the Siddees, or any other force against which he might be compelled, or choose to contend. None of his harbours admitted ships of a great size, such as were used at Surat, or by the Europeans. The traffic from port to port of the malabar and northern coasts, as well of the Concan, now his own, had from time immemorial been of great amount, but carried on in vessels of shallow burthen, capable of taking close refuge under every shelter of the land. The vessels for fight, under the various denominations of punts,

which

SECT
I
1679

~~SECRET~~ which have always infested these coasts, were adapted to the constructions of the chase they were to follow and trusted to the superiority of number against ships of burthen in the open sea. Seragi did not change this system in his own marine, and by this time had collected a fleet of twenty two-mast grabs and forty gallivats.

The protection which the Siddees had given to Gingerali against the repeated attacks of Seragi as well as their frequent annoyances of his country, had been so much facilitated by their resort to Bombay that Seragi at length determined to compel the English government to a stricter neutrality by reprisals on their own port. About six miles below the point of Tull lie two rocky islands, the one called Kenary two miles and a half from the main the other Hundry at the distance of 1 200 yards. Kenary which is the largest of the two is only a mile and a half long and half a mile in breadth. Neither had ever been inhabited and both were covered with wood which sometimes supplied Bombay with fuel nor had they been deemed of any other utility although no vessel could enter or come out of the harbour which might not be discerned from them in the day and a light house on Henary would have ascertained the navigation in the night.

Seragi, whom no advantage escaped ordered preparations during the stormy season and at the end of August, as soon as it began to abate three hundred soldiers and as many

labourers

SECT.

I

1679.

" 56

labourers, with arms and materials, passed from the main into the island of Kenary, and immediately began to raise breast works at the landing places. Bombay, when too late, saw the consequences, and recollecting a pretension to both the islands by the cession of Portugal, which, the Portuguese at Bassein, equally alarmed, denied, and asserted an ancient right of their own, having formerly attempted to settle on Kenary, but finding the water came up salt in the wells they dug, desisted. Bombay at this time had no gallivats, which are vessels constructed for swift sailing and therefore fitted three shibars or trading boats, which they armed with forty Europeans of the garrison, who were ordered to prevent the landing of any vessels from Sevagi's shore, and to summon his officer on the island to retire with his people, who answered that he should never quit his station until recalled by his master. After cruising ten days about the islands, hard weather drove the shibars back to Bombay, from whence they proceeded again to the island, reinforced by the Revenge, a frigate of sixteen guns. The next day, which was the 19th of September, a Lieutenant, in a fit of drunkenness, landed with the men of his shibar, was killed with six other Europeans, the rest made prisoners, and the shibar hauled up on the shore, all before any assistance could be given by the other vessels, working against the wind and tide, which the enemy's boats by their construction and oars were much better enabled to surmount; and for several nights following passed to and

from

SECT
I
1679 from the island without interception. The officers on the service imputed their ineffectual watch to the fewness of their vessels, and the whole of Sevagi's armada were assembling at Chaul under the command of his admiral Dowlet Caun on which the government of Bombay increased their force by hiring the vessels they wanted and on the 6th of October the fleet off Ienary consisted of the Revenge, as admiral two gabs of two masts, the three shibars, and two munchuas, a stronger kind of trading vessel in all eight on board of which were two hundred European soldiers, which amounted to two-thirds of the garrison of Bonibay besides the seamen and lascars of the crews.

On the 15th of October Dowlet Caun's fleet anchored close to the shore a little to the north of Chaul in sight of Ienary to which a number of his gallivats passed over in the ensuing night and on the next returned to the main At day break of the next morning which was the 18th their whole fleet bore down firing from their prows, and advancing so fast that the English vessels at anchor near the island had scarcely time to get under weigh in less than half an hour one of the English gabs, called the Dore struck and was carried off the other avoided this danger and afterwards kept aloof and the five sail of shibars and munchuas ran away so that the Revenge was left alone in the midst of the enemy She was commanded by captain Minchin, and had on board as commodore of the whole fleet, Keigwin the commander of the garrison

garrison both men of courage, they beat off the enemy's gallivats which attempted to board, and sunk five of them, on which the whole fleet, fifty vessels, fled before this single frigate, and were pursued into shoal water to the bar of Negotan, but several of their gallivats with recruits and stores had got into Kenary during the fight, which was intended to cover them. Two days after the enemy's fleet came out again from Negotan, but when the English advanced to meet them, returned into the river.

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I

1679

At this time 5,000 of Sevagi's troops, in expectation of better effects from their fleet, came down from Railee to Gallian, and demanded, as once before, permission of the Portuguese government at Baslein, to pass at Tannah, in order to cross at Malum into Bombay, but were again refused. Nevertheless their continuance at Gallian created much solicitude, lest the Portuguese should change their mind, or they get boats and pass down from Gallian in the night, whilst so great a part of the garrison was abroad in the fleet; and this apprehension produced a negotiation with Railee.

Notwithstanding the increase of the English vessels watching Kenary, it still continued impossible to prevent the enemy's boats from passing it in the night twelve passed on the 25th, five a few nights after, and although not so readily, all got safe back again. Cannon were now mounted in the island, and fired at the English vessels, but, in several days, only one shot struck, which killed a cooley, several gallivats were

SECT

1

1679

driven on shore near Negotan at different times, by the flubars or munchuas. Another frigate of sixteen guns, called the Hunter which had come from Surat, and brought the president's guard of thirty six Europeans, to reinforce Bombay, was sent to the fleet, which then quitted their stations near Kenary and anchored to block up the river of Negotan but could not effectually because it has two outlets on which Keigwin proposed to enter burn the enemy's fleet, and ravage the country but the council at Bombay and still more the presidency at Surat, were unwilling to risque such a provocation of Sevagi's resentment and were confirmed in this caution by the hope of seeing the quarrel taken off their hands.

The Mogul government at Surat were as much alarmed as either the English or Portuguese, at Sevagi's views on the sea whom they had hitherto only dreaded on shore for besides the extensive trade in many vessels to various parts of the East Indies, seven or eight slups which traded to the red sea, and the gulph of Persia annually brought back 500 000l in gold and silver alone. The Siddee was equally anxious for the preservation of his strong hold of Gingerah and by this concurrence of apprehensions obtained the supplies of his equipment for the first time without grudge or regret, from the government of Surat. His fleet consisted of two large ships, three frigates of three masts, and fifteen stout gallivats, in which, besides the lascars, were seven hundred excellent soldiers. They arrived at Bombay on the 10th of November

and

and after conference with the council there, joined the company's fleet off Kenay, whose officers at the same time received cautious instructions

SECT

I

1679

Siddee Costim, having rowed round the island, proposed to assault it with his own men, if the company's vessels would cover the landing, but Keigwin discovered that he intended to keep it, if carried, and as Bombay might receive more detriment from it in his possession, than from Sevagi's, evaded to give the assistance, on which the Siddee cannonaded the island from his two ships for several days, which was returned, but with no effect on either side during which no firing passed between the company's fleet and the island. This wariness confirmed what intelligence the Siddee had gained concerning the negotiation between Bombay and Sevagi, and in order to break it, he sent off his gallivats in the night to attack the corlahs in the harbour, where they burnt four towns, and brought off the inhabitants for slaves. Single boats from the main continued to get into the island, and Dowlet Caun prepared to come out of Negotan with a numerous convoy laden with provisions and ammunition, and all his grabs appeared one morning at the mouth of the river, but on the approach of the two fleets from their stations, went in again, the smaller vessels were then left to block the outlets, but the Siddee fearing his own might be surprised, withdrew them, and the watch was continued by only two of the Company's. The firing was renewed between the Siddee and

SECT ¹ the island and continued for thirteen days to the last of December with as little effect as before and thus stood the
1679 quarrel at the end of the year 1679

In September Sevagi came out of Pannela with what force for the field he had kept there during the rains, and joined 20,000 horse, which Morah Pundit had collected, waiting for him at the foot of the western side of the ridge they proceeded towards Viziapore, whose forces were joined by the Mogul army from Aurengabad under the conduct of Delbir Khan Sambagi was likewise with them and in a general battle which ensued his ensigns were displayed against his father's. The contest was sharp on Sevagi's side two thousand Morah toes were slain and as many surrendered. His enemies claimed the victory which he confirmed by retreating to Raicee where he arrived in the beginning of November

This was the only defeat of his life, but he soon dispelled the reproach which he had willingly encouraged. A powerful Rajah in Berar aggrieved by the Mogul government confederated with him for their mutual revenge and in the beginning of December Sevagi set off from Raicee with a chosen body of horse and suddenly appeared in the country between Aurengabad and Brampore, where, joined with the forces of the Rajah, they committed all kind of desolation Dongong, where the English had factors, Chupra, and other great marts, were again plundered and Brampore shut its gates. At the same time Morah Pundit, with another body of horse proceeded

proceeded along the western side of the mountains, and ravaged towards Suriat. Scragi returned to Rance with his booty at the end of the year, but Morah Pundit with his division kept the field

SECT.

I

1679

In the mean time Aurengzebe was carrying on the war against the Ranah of Chitoie, and the Rajah of Maiwar, who on the approach of his army at the end of the preceding year, 1678, had abandoned the accessible country, and drew their herds and inhabitants into the valleys, within the mountains, the army advanced amongst the defiles with incredible labour, and with so little intelligence, that the division which moved with Aurengzebe himself, was unexpectedly stopped by insuperable defences and precipices in front, whilst the Rajpoots in one night closed the streights in his rear, by felling the overhanging trees, and from their stations above, prevented all endeavours of the troops either within or without, from removing the obstacle. Udeperri the favorite and Circassian wife of Aurengzebe accompanied him in this arduous war, and with her retinue and escort was enclosed in another part of the mountains, her conductors, dreading to expose her person to danger or public view, surrendered. She was carried to the Ranah, who received her with homage, and every attention. Meanwhile the emperor himself might have perished by famine, of which the Ranah let him see the risque, by a confinement of two days, when he ordered his Rajpoots to withdraw from their stations, and suffer the way to,

SECT I
 1679 to be cleared. As soon as Aurengzebe was out of danger the Ranah sent back his wife, accompanied by a chosen escort who only requested in return that he would refrain from destroying the sacred animals of their religion which might still be left in the plains but Aurengzebe who believed in no virtue but self interest, imputed the generosity and forbearance of the Ranah to the fear of future vengeance and continued the war. Soon after he was again well nigh enclosed in the mountains. This second experience of difficulties beyond his age and constitution and the arrival of his sons, Azam and Aebat determined him not to expose himself any longer in the field but to leave its operations to their conduct super intended by his own instructions from Azmir to which city he retired with the households of his family the officers of his court, and his body-guard of 4 000 men dividing the army between his two sons, who each had brought a considerable body of troops from their respective governments. They continued the war each in a different part of the country and neither at the end of the year had forced the ultimate passes of the mountains.

The confederates in Viriapore after Sevagi's retreat attacked some of the towns in this country which he had so nearly reduced. Amongst others, they sacked Huttany a very considerable mart and Delliur Khan proposed to sell the inhabitants, who were Hindoos, for slaves but Serji Khan the general of Viriapore wished to preserve them as recovered subjects

subjects, and Sambagi still more sacredly, as being of his own religion, but the two mahomedans agreed, and Sambagi in detestation of co-operating any longer with such allies, went off with his troops, which were 400 horse, and 1,000 foot, to his father's fort of Pannela, who ordered his admission, and went to meet him at the end of the year, when they were reconciled, and Sevagi, leaving him in the command of Pannela, returned to Rance. Morah Pundit still continued towards Surat, but restrained from any strenuous exertion, lest his assistance should be required by the future operations of Sevagi.

SECT
I
1679.

The Siddee continued his daily battery against Kenary, until the 9th of January, when, without intimating his design to the English captains, he anchored his fleet at Hundry, the other island, on which he landed men and cannon, and declared his intention of fortifying it, as a check on Kenary. Four days after Dowlet Caun came out, with all his vessels, from the river of Negotan, and a general engagement ensued with little damage, for it was over before the English could take any share in it. Dowlet Caun then brought guns to a rising ground on the main land opposite Hundry, against which they fired, and were answered as well by the Siddee's ships as the guns in the island. This cannonade continued several days. On the 27th Dowlet Caun came out again with the whole fleet and engaged the Siddee's for four hours, until he had lost four grabs, and as many of the smaller vessels,

with

1680.

SECT
I
1680 with 500 men killed and wounded besides the prisoners and was himself severely wounded The Siddee lost no vessels, and had only ten men killed such was the advantage of his flups over the open and more slender vessels of the enemy whose grabs, with their wounded admiral leaving their gallivats to the neighbouring rivers, bore away after the engagement to rest at Rajapore which is one hundred miles to the south of Negapatam

This while the negotiation had been carrying on at Bombay with an ambassador sent on purpose from Raicee, and lest that he should think that this success of the Siddee was acceptable to the council, they immediately recalled their own fleet. The Siddee tried again to break off the treaty by sending the grabs he had taken to be sold in Bombay and being refused the petition entered the harbour on the 27th of February with his whole fleet, and detached his gallivats, crowded with men into the river Penn which they went up as far as the depth permitted burning all the towns and villages on either hand and brought away near a thousand of the inhabitants. Nevertheless the treaty was concluded in the middle of March it confirmed that of 1674 made by Mr Oxenden, and promised immediate payment of what remained due of the compensation then allowed for the company's losses at the sick of Rajapore in 1673 The English agreed not to permit the Siddee's fleet to winter in the harbour but under the condition of not attacking the opposite shores

In this interval Sevagi was gone from Ranee, but no one knew whether, a convoy of money to a great amount was coming to Awiengabad, of which, as of every thing concerning his enemy, he received early intelligence, and taking his time before his intentions could be suspected, issued with a detachment of his hardiest cavalry, remote from all the Mogul's stations, and fell upon the convoy before his approach was known, within a few miles of Brampore, where it would have been safe, until sent forward with stronger escort. He seized the whole, and brought it without interruption and the same rapidity to Ranee. But the purchase was dearly earned, for the excessive strain of fatigue, greater than any he had endured since his escape from Delhi, caused an inflammation in his breast, attended with spitting of blood. His disorder, although increasing every day, was kept secret within his palace at Rairee, and if it had been published would not have been believed, since he had more than once sent abroad reports of his death, at the very time he was setting out on some signal excursion, and at this very time his army towards Surat, which he probably intended to have joined, were acting with such ravage and hostility up to the walls, that the city imagined Sevagi himself was commanding in person, and expected an assault with so much terror, that the English presidency sent off the treasure of their factory across the river, to the marine of Swally, where lay some of their ships, and the governor of the town redeemed his fears by a large

SLCT.
I
1680

59

SECT
I
1690 contribution with which Morah Pundit returned to Raitee to see his master die. He expired on the 5th of April 1680, and in the 52d year of his age. His funeral pile was ad ministered with the same sacrifices as had been devoted the year before to the obsequies of the Maha Rajah Jaffront * 60 Sing of Joudpore attendants, animals, and wires, were burnt with his corpse.

The name of his family was Bonsolo which claiming their descent from ancient princes of the Rajpoot nation were exempted (we suppose in convenience to military exertions) from some of the stricter observances of the general religion from which nevertheless he never deviated for the sake of indulgences, and affected the deepest reverence to his brahmins, undertaking no expedition without their auspices and was as punctual in his private devotions, as assiduous in the ceremonies of public worship it should seem from conviction but whether so or no his practice gained the public respect and as he delighted in every occasion of throwing defiance against Aurengzebe he frequently styled himself in his correspondence and manifestos the champion of the Hindoo gods against the sanguinary violator of their temples which with his own example sharpened the antipathy of his troops against the Moguls, whom they deemed it religious retaliation to destroy.

His private life was simple, even to parsimony his manners void of insolence or ostentation as a sovereign he was humane

SICER
I
1650

mane, and solicitous for the well-being of his people, as soon as assured of their obedience, for he gathered them as we have seen by degrees.

Conflicting against the Mogul, Viznagar, and Goleoridah, the revenues of his own territories, ill-wrested from their dominions, were not sufficient to supply the means of maintaining effectual war against such rich and mighty powers, but his genius created the resources which nature had denied. The cavalry of the three Mahomedan states were always drawn from the northern countries and borders of India with especial regard to the strength and size, as well of the riders as their horses, whose pampered maintenance was of vast expense, but their shock was not to be resisted by any of the native cavalry to the south of Delhi, and all the conquests made by the Mahomedans in this lower region may be imputed to this unequal decision. Sevagi first discerned and provided the equivalent opposition, by establishing a cavalry, of which the requisites were agility and endurance of fatigue, many must have perished in the probation, but besides the supplies of purchase and capture, broods were raised from the most approved². The horse without a saddle was rode by a man without cloths, whose constant weapon was a trun-

n. 61.

* Navaret informs, "It is told at Suez, the Sabagi Mogul (Sevagi) was sue from a Mo'ah was extraordinarily careful that no woman should be in his army, and, if he happened to find one, he immediately turned her out, first cutting off her hair and ears. This to prevent the effects of tenths on the alertness and activity of his troops, for the same reason as the Tatars."

Sect. I
1680

sabre footmen enured to the same travel and bearing all kind of arms trooped with the horse spare horses to bring off the booty and relieve the wearied or wounded All gathered their daily provisions as they passed No pursuit could reach their march in conflict their onset fell wheresoever they chose and was relinquished even in the instant of charge Whole districts were in flames before their approach was known as a terror to others to redeem the ravage Nor were they so wanton in bloodshed as reported by assright but gave no quarter to resistance or interruption in the towns they only sought the wealthy inhabitants to carry them off for future ransom Such was their war of plunder In regular campaigns in which fortresses were to be reduced they must have moved with the usual incumbrances but Sevagi seems to have besieged none at an inconvenient distance from others of which he was in possession excepting when he invaded the Carnatic of which we have acquired no circumstances.

We are not apprised in what manner he satisfied and paid his soldiery and their officers but believe with portions of the cumbrous plunder grain land honour privileges exemptions, and very little ready money for the continual influx of treasure from his predatory excursions raised the fame of the caves of Raicee to a proverbial symbol of eastern wealth as a repository from which nothing returned Nevertheless nothing necessary to the success of his operations was wanted, and what capture

capture did not furnish was procured by purchase. He spared no cost to obtain intelligence of all the motions and intentions of his enemy, and even of minuter import, for his detachments always knew the opulent houses of the towns they attacked, and often the very cell in which the treasure they sought was buried, he was still more profuse in corrupting the generals with whom he contended, the Mogul's governors of Surat, his Subahs in the Decan, and even Sultan Mauzum his son, and the heir of his empire, had more than once accepted the gold of connivance from Sevagi

SECT.
I
1680.

The same principles of frugality and expense were observed in the municipal disbursements of his government for superior himself to magnificence, none of his officers were led to expect more than competence, but nothing was spared which might contribute to the internal defence of his country. Regular fortifications, well armed and garrisoned, barred the nearer approaches, every pass was commanded by forts, and, in the closer defiles, every steep and overhanging rock was occupied as a station to roll down great masses of stone, which made their way to the bottom, and became the most effectual annoyance to the labouring march of cavalry, elephants, and carriages. It is said that he left three hundred and fifty of these posts in the Concan alone

SEVAGI possessed all the qualities of command every influence, howsoever latent, was combined in his schemes, which generally comprehended the option of more than one success,

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SECT

I

1680

■ 61

so that his intention could rarely be ascertained and when accomplished did not discover the extent of its advantages, until developed by subsequent acquisitions. In personal activity he exceeded all generals of whom there is record for no partisan appropriated to services of detachment alone, ever traversed as much ground as he at the head of armies. He met every emergency of peril, howsoever sudden and extreme with instant discernment, and unshaken fortitude the ablest of his officers acquiesced to the eminent superiority of his genius and the boast of the soldier was to have seen Seragi charging sword in hand

Thus respected : as the guardian of the nation he had formed he moved every where amongst them with unsuspecting security and often alone whilst his wiles were the continual terror of the princes with whom he was at enmity even in the midst of their citadels and armies. Whenever we shall obtain a history of his life, written in his own country he will doubtless appear to have possessed the highest resources of stratagem joined to undaunted courage which although equal to the encounter of any danger always preferred to surmount it by circumvention which if impracticable no arm exceeded his in open daring Gallantry must lament that it should once have been stained by the blood of assassination

Aurengzebe could not suppress the emotions of his joy on hearing of Seragi's death nor the justice due to his character which he had denied during his life "He was, he said

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"a great

“a great captain, and the only one who has had the magnanimity to raise a new kingdom, whilst I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India, my armies have been employed against him for nineteen years, and, nevertheless, his state has been always increasing”

SECT.

I

1680.

n 63.

n 64

This state comprised, on the western side of India, all the coast with the back country of the hills from the river Mirzcou to Veisal, excepting the small territory of Goa to the south, Bombay, Salcette, and the Portuguese country between Bassem and Daman to the north. Along the other side of the ridge, all, as far as the mountains continued to the westward, likewise belonged to Sevagi. The whole, at a general amount, may be esteemed four hundred miles in length, and one hundred and twenty in breadth at the distance of three hundred miles from this dominion, he was in possession, towards the eastern sea, of half the Carnatic, which alone equalled most of the Rajahships of India, all acquired by his own abilities from an origin of little note, and left at his decease a permanent sovereignty, established on communion of manners, customs, observances, language, and religion, united in common defence against the tyranny of foreign conquerors, from whom they had recovered the land of their own inheritance.

SAMBAGI was at Pannela when his father died, his younger brother Ram Rajah at Rairee, whom Anagi Pundit the second minister, and rival of Morah Pundit the first, endeavoured

SECT endeavoured by the warrant, or some expression of Seragi to establish in the sovereignty but Morah Pundit was supported in the preference of Sanibagi by the greatest part of the soldiers who had been the companions of his valour and activity in the field which put an end to Anagi Pundit's intrigue, and he went with Morah Pundit to pay homage to Sanibagi at Pannela, who immediately confined him in irons, and came to Rairce, escorted by 5 000 horse in the beginning of July where he met his brother with kindness and ordered the general rendezvous of the army

The Siddee having secured the continuance of his own works on the island Hundry desisted from further attack on Seragi at Kenary and sent a part of his soldiery with some of the smaller vessels to harbour at Maungong and with the larger cruised about Dunda Rajapore. At this time the government of Surat, by the especial order of Aurengzebe increased the duties of all the European imports from two to three-and-a-half per cent, which was intended to equal their rates to the poll tax established on all his subjects, not Mahomedans in the empire. This aggrievance encouraged the insubordination of the Siddees people at Bombay. They executed their own justice on the inhabitants, and again brought some of the people they had taken on Seragi's shores to sell as slaves in the island but the council released all they got notice of which were twenty-one persons, men, women and children, who, when produced were nearly reduced to death by hunger.

This

This happened on the 28th of April on the 4th of May some of their people were carrying contraband goods, which the guards of the custom-house stopped at Mazagong, and a fray ensued, in which several on both sides were wounded The next day Siddee Coffim himself came into the harbour with the main body of his fleet, and anchored off the fort without compliment or warning, on which guns were fired on his ships, which forced them to a farther distance, and produced a discussion, which at length terminated by the Siddee's consent to refrain from the invasion of the corlahis, conformably to the engagements lately made by the council with Sevagi , but then continuing in the harbour gave so much umbrage to Sambagi, that he sent down troops to the shore, who set to work in preparing means to burn their fleet, but continually deferred the attempt

SECT
I
1680

On the first of August two hundred of their men in boats, and a dark night, landed on the island of Kenary, and got within the works before they were discovered, but the Siddee's men gathered with resolution, and either took or killed the greatest part Eighty heads were brought in baskets to Mazagong, where Siddee Coffim prepared to fix them along the shore on poles, but was interdicted by the council The ill success and intended insult increased the resentment of Sambagi he sent more troops to the corlahis, and threatened the invasion of Bombay, which reinforced its out-posts towards Gallian, at length he demanded to confer with an ambassador,

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whom,

SECT
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1680 whom, on account of the expense, the presidency at Surat would not send on which Sambagi sent his own to the island, by name Augee Pundit, a very shrewd man of long service and high esteem with Sevagi he was treated with great respect, and procured every kind of intelligence concerning the strength and defences of the island and saw the Siddees fleet which, wanting money continued in the harbour until the 2d of December when they sailed down the coast, intending to make a descent again at Vingorlah but Sambagi had increased his fleet to sixty sail, and reinforced it with 5 000 soldiers, which nevertheless could not resist the battery of the Siddees, but sailed much better, and could anchor in much shoaler water of which advantages Doglet Cauh availed himself and restricted his operations to observation, which deterred the Siddeo from attempting to ravage any part of the coast, so that after various chases, and accidental fights between the smaller vessels, the season closed without any of consequence and the Siddeo returned to Bombay towards the end of April from whence he sailed for Surat on the 3d of May leaving five hundred men on his island of Haudry and six gallivats with three hundred men at Mazagong

We left Aurengzebe in the beginning of the year 1680 at Axur directing the war against the Ryppoots, carried on by two different armies under the command of his sons Azim and Achbar Soon after if we can arrange aright, the army of Azim took the vast and ruined city of Clutore by surprise it had

had been taken about a century before by the emperor Acbar, who defaced or demolished all the edifices of religion and regality, which in the succession of one thousand years had elevated its reputation above all the western cities of Indostan. On this disaster, the Ranah then reigning removed his residence and the seat of government to Oudipore, where it had continued ever since Chitoie, nevertheless, did not then lose all its inhabitants, and the number had been increasing until this second expulsion, but was nothing near so great as when taken by Acbar, Aurengzebe destroyed all the objects of Hindoo worship, and every dwelling which had since been either raised or restored. The capture, nevertheless, did not forward the reduction of the Ranah, for the farther mountains, which environed his residence at Oudipore were insuperable, and the profanation of Chitoie, increased the desperate defence of the Rajpoots of both principalities.

All the sons of Aurengzebe were brave, but Sultan Mauzum had acquired the love of the soldiery by his generosity and humanity, who perceived little of these virtues either in his father or brothers, whose jealousy this preference raised, which Sultan Mauzum knew, and when sent into the Decan, foresaw that any signal success obtained under his immediate command in the field, would aggravate their latent aversions, and on the other hand that the failure would be imputed to his misconduct alone. In this dilemma, he chose the middle mode of acting as the vicegerent of the emperor in the general super-

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1681 intendency of the province but left the command of the army to Delyire Khan who was charged to watch all his proceedings Nevertheless, the sultans Azim and Achar exaggerated the inefficacy of the war against Sevagi from which Aurengzebe received some consolation as palliating the failure of his own against the Rajpoots but ordered Sultan Mauzum to persevere with more activity Soon after happened the death of Sevagi, when Aurengzebe, not expecting the same opposition from his successor, recalled Sultan Mauzum and Delyire Khan with the army which had accompanied them into the Deccan and they advanced to Chitore so that the whole force of the empire which could with prudence be collected to one destination, was now employed against the two Rajpoot Rajahs, under the command of the three sons of the emperor and his own inspection

1686 Achar was restless, turbulent, arrogant, and mischievous hating his brothers Mauzum and Azim as his elders his father still more, for not presenting his own to their better pretensions to his favour His army was employed against Joudpore and lay nearer than the other two to Azim where Aurengzebe had reserved for his guard only 4 000, but of his best troops The widow of Joudpore, apprised of the character of Achar proffered the assistance of 50,000 Rajpoots, to seize the emperor and proclaim himself The offer was accepted and the widow raised a belief that she was assembling the ban of her country to assist the Ronah with the surplus of her

SECT.

I

1681.

her own defence. The negotiation was kept concealed until Acbar communicated it to his astrologer, for the choice of a lucky day. The astrologer apprised Sultan Mauzum, who was perplexed, whether it might not be a contumace of his father, to try his fidelity, or should the revolt be intended, and yet not take effect, lest he should be suspected of ill will to his brother, he however sent the intelligence, to which Aurengzebe gave no credit, until he received it likewise from the astrologer. No time was to be lost, for the Rajpoots had joined, and to gain a day, Aurengzebe wrote an exhortation of filial piety to Acbar, which was answered by an invective of defiance. The armies of Sultan Mauzum and Azim were advancing hastily to his aid, but Acbar was two days nearer, and within one of Azim, this day was the 11th of January

n 67.

1681. Aurengzebe bribed the astrologer to proscribe it, and contrived a letter to be intercepted by the commander of the Rajpoots, exhorting Acbar to persevere in the plan of exposing them in front, and of falling upon their rear, during the intended attack of Aurengzebe's camp. The advice corresponded with the resolve of the last council of war, of which Aurengzebe had acquired intelligence, "That the "Rajpoots should commence the assault, and Acbar support "them with the Mogul troops." This concurrence, with the remembrance of the former collusion between Aurengzebe and his son Sultan Mauzum in the Decan, to inveigle Sevagi, stamped invincible suspicion, and the same night the Rajpoots marched

secret
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 1681 matched away to their own country which spread such trepidation in Aebars army as disabled him from taking revenge of their desertion he upbraided all the officers of his council and especially accused the astrologer who was not to be found his general Teaver Caun wounded by the disappointment of a scheme he had earnestly promoted as much as by the imputation against his honour proffered with the ferocity of his nation (for he was a Pitan) to assassinate Aurengzebo before the ensuing noon He set off to certain death with alacrity and a few attendants arrived at the camp before the sun or intelligence of the retreat of the Raypools announced himself as a fugitive from Aebar returning to his duty to his sovereign with information of near and immediate importance and being well known, was permitted to pass to the pavilions of Aurengzebe, who was asleep and the weather being very cold the guard had retired to their room leaving only a single sentinel at the entrance to Aurengzebes apartment by whom Teaver Caun was stopp'd until the chamberlain came who ordered him to deliver his sword and dagger before he could be admitted to the presence of the emperor he refused high words ensued and he attacked the chamberlain with the advantage of a coat of mail under his garment the guards came in on the first outcry against whom he defended himself desperately until felled with many wounds.

The news of his death and the cause carried dismay through the camp of Aebar not yet recovered from their

former consternation, bands on all sides marched away, scarcely determined what to do, but most determined to atone for the revolt by returning to the standard of the emperor Acbar put his treasure, with his infant son and daughter and the females of his family, on his elephants and camels, and accompanied by his domestics on horseback, struck to the mountains of the Maha Rajah, into which he was admitted with respect The general, convinced that he had been deceived by the artifice of Aurengzebe, apologized, and the widow offered him retreat, or assistance, at his choice. But Acbar only accepted the service of five hundred Rajpoots, and the protection of the state to his children and family, whom he left at Joudpore, and departed to the country adjoining to the peninsula of Guzriat, which is likewise possessed by Rajpoots under several petty Rajahs, but in strong situations

Sect
I
1681
n. 69

Sultan Mauzum was ordered to follow Acbar, and not to quit the pursuit, until he had taken him, which, knowing his own estimation, and the duplicity of his father, he deemed a dangerous commission since, if Acbar should fall in action, his death might be imputed to the earnestness of removing a rival he ventured to explain the dilemma, which Aurengzebe affected not to take amiss, and indemnified the consequence; Acbar was soon after surrounded in a situation, capable of extreme defence, but from which, if properly watched, he could not escape, so that famine seemed the umpire, against which Acbar was likewise provided Mauzum, to save time, offered

n. 69*

SECT I offered him full pardon and restoration to the favour of their father from whom he had received the silver chains, with which Acbar was to be fettered who pretended that the Rajpoots would prevent his escape, until he had discharged the arrears of their pay The story says, that Sultan Maukuni sent him 40 000 gold mohurs which if true, proves the high honour of the Rajpoots since the obvious use of the money was to have sent it to them, if they could have been bribed to betray their ward They seconded Acbar in a push through Maukum's circumvallation, which seems to have been purposely neglected and escaped with him to the Coolies on the river Mihie, which disembogues at Cambay from whence he sent forward the recommendations of the Ranah, and Joud pore to Sambagi who immediately invited him into his country on which Acbar travelling whilst the army of Bahadar Khan was retired into winter quarters, arrived on the 1st of June at Pawlee Gur a fort and town at the foot of the Gante a day's journey from the shore opposite to Bombay His retinue was four hundred Rajpoots mounted a few well armed on foot and two hundred and fifty camels carrying his baggage, women and treasures.

Sambagi was then at Pannela but his principal officers at Rauree came down and presented one thousand gold mohurs as a testimony of his homage which Acbar distributed amongst his Rajpoots. None sat in his presence, as Sambagi had declared he himself never should The whole country flocked

flocked in to pay him obeisance, as if he had been the Mogul, all the provisions of his men and animals were daily supplied in abundance and without cost, and whilst waiting the visit of Sambagi he was continually joined by parties of cavalry, whom he enlisted, and at the end of August had five thousand in his own pay Whilst others admired why Sambagi did not come, Acbar knew the cause of his continuance at Pannela

SECT. I
1681

The minister Anagi Pundit, although impunished, continued to lead the faction which had endeavoured to give the succession to Ramrajah, and was abetted by his mother On Acbar's arrival in the Concan, they tendered him the sovereignty of all Sevagi's dominions, reserving a provision for Ramrajah, provided Acbar would declare against Sambagi, of whom they undertook to get rid Accordingly his meal was poisoned, but discovered to him by an infant, and proved on a dog Soon after Sambagi received intelligence from Acbar of the overtures which had been made to him by the conspirators, on which he put to death Anagi Pundit, Harji Pharsang, and five others; they were trampled by elephants, twenty more awaited the same fate Ramrajah was sent to reside in one of the forts of the Carnatic with a decent appanage, but without any power in the government. Some time after his mother died, it is supposed, by the procurement of Sambagi, who in September came to Pawlee Gur and paid his personal homage, with great respect, to Acbar, whom he

n 71.

I
1691

then conducted to Railee, giving out that he intended to accompany him with 50 000 horse to Brampore, and there proclaim him emperor of the Moguls. But the boast was scarcely made before its execution became impracticable.

The escape of Abar to Sambagi oppressed Aurangzebo with as much anxiety as formerly the phantom of his brother Sujah amongst the Pitans and the consequences of their alliance became a nearer care than the continuance of the war against the Rajpoots, whose gallant activity precluded any speedy decision of the sword but the dignity of the throne forbade any overtures of peace to a resistance which had even attempted the deposal if not the life of the monarch. A Rajpoot officer who had long served with distinction under Delire Khan solved the difficulty he quitted the army on the pretence of returning with what he had acquired, to pass the remainder of his life in his own country and visited the Ranah as from courtesy, on his journey the conversation turned on the war, which the Rajpoot perhaps really lamented and persuaded the Ranah, that although Aurangzebo would never condescend to make he might accept overtures of peace on which he was empowered by the Ranah to tender them. The rains having stopped immediate operations in the Deccan Aurangzebo to avoid the appearance of eagerness or necessity protracted the negotiation until the army could move and then concluded the treaty without assertion or release of the capitulation tax but with the surrender of the districts

districts of Meirdah, which had been taken from Chitore by Shah Jehan the state of Joudpoore was likewise included in the Ranah's, or had a separate treaty In the month of September Aurengzebe began to move from Azmū, and sent forward the two armies commanded by his sons the Sultans Mauzum and Azim the three armies arrived at their intended stations nearly at the same time, in the middle of November, Sultan Azim's at Ahmednagui, Mauzum's at Aurengabad, and Aurengzebe himself at Brampore, from whence he sent orders to hire more ships at Surat, which were to reinforce his own and the Siddee's fleet acting against the fleet and shores of Sambagi, whilst the armies should attack his mountains

In the mean time the Siddee's gallivats at Hundry, in the various intervals of fair weather during the monsoon, attacked the boats of Bombay going to the Corlahs, and were punished by their commander for what they had not been able to take The council of Bombay, to avoid the necessity of revenging these insults on the men at Mazagong, referred their complaints to Surat Twenty-two of Sambagi's gallivats were sheltered in the river Negotan, and in the middle of July came down four thousand men from Raicee, who, after waiting a month for fair weather, sailed over to Hundry, but were beaten off with loss, after a fight of four hours The Siddee's gallivats at Bombay, elated with this success, sailed over to the Corlahs, and brought away some of the principal inhabitants, who had purchased their protection by an annual tri-

Sect
I
1681

bute equal to what they paid the government of Raicee and although several of them as well as the Siddees, were Mahomedans, they were carried to Ilundry and beaten unmercifully until they deputed one to fetch a ransom of eighteen thousand rupees As this injury originated in Bombay where some of the Siddees, besides their occasional residence, had purchased houses and established their families, Sambagi phousdar or governor on the main, remonstrated to the council whose expostulations with the Siddees availed so little, that a few days after they brought a large vessel which they had taken in the Corlaht, in open day close under the fort from whence it was immediately rescued by the boats on guard

In the mean Siddoo Cossim, to oppose the complaints of the presidency at Surat, instigated the crews of his ships in the river to demand justice, although sixteen months had passed for the value of the twenty-one miserable prisoners which the council of Bombay had obliged them to surrender and the governor encouraged them to beset the English factory which took up arms, and pointed four field pieces at the gate which was kept shut for two days when the confusion was dissipated by the governor's order who received a present for this interference of his authority to quell the danger he had abetted the same influence procured his injunction to the Siddees people at Bombay to restrain from farther offences, and they continued quiet until the end of October when

when Siddee Coslim appeared off the harbour, but with little increase of his former force, for the Mogul's orders to arm more ships had not yet arrived at Surat, but his approach to the Decan was known, and raised the insolence of all his officers with whom the English had any concern. Accordingly the Siddee, when pressed by the council of Bombay to refrain from depredations on the Corlahs, or hostilities within the harbour, denied that he had received any such orders at Surat, and cruized daily, within and without, on all vessels trading to any part of Sambagi's country, and even detained one belonging to Bombay which had bought his own pafs. All this while he occupied the town of Mazagong, and every advantage of the port without controul, for the concern of lading the company's ships at Surat precluded any effectual opposition to his enormities, which were increased by the forbearance

On the 7th of December he sent all his gallivats into the Corlahs, where they burnt the town of Abita, which had recovered from the like desolation in the year 1673 a few days after, the whole fleet went down to Chaul, and, passing the Portuguese fort at the mouth of the river without offence, ravaged a large tract of the adjacent country, but were not able to assault the town of Upper Chaul, belonging to Sambagi, nor was the town able to oppose them in the field. On this provocation Sambagi, accompanied by Sultan Acbar, came down from Railee, with 20,000 men and a vast train of cannon, to Dunda Rajahpoie, in the beginning of January, and,

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1681

1682.

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SECRET
1682 from the hill opposite to Gingerah, battered incessantly for thirty days, until all the opposite fortifications were levelled but a rock in the middle of the island sheltered the garrison which was commanded by a gallant officer named Siddee Curry and Siddee Coffim, with his flups, plving daily into the bay deterred Sambagi's fleet from approaching to transport his troops to the attack who continued on the main without a single boat but Sambagi bent on his object, resolved to fill up the channel, although eight hundred yards broad and thirty deep with stones and fragments of rock The idea was great, and not impracticable by the labour of 50 000 men in a hundred days and so many of the fair season remained but the mound would not have withstood the heavy and outrageous seas of the stormy monsoon.

The army which Sultan Mauzum had led to Aurengabad in the preceding November had joined the camp at Jeencah-gur from whence a general named Hussen Ally was sent with 20 000 horse and 15 000 foot, to reduce Sambagi's country towards Salcette and Bombay They forced the Gaols of Deesir after some resistance, less than they expected, and encamped at Gallian on the 4th of February having to their own future detriment, destroyed all the extensive and salt cultivation of the plain within reach of their excursions.

Sambagi immediately returned with Sultan Acbar from Dunda Rajabpore to Rauree but left a considerable body of troops to continue the attack on Gingerah, which he quitted himself

himself with much despite against the causes of his disappointment. He threatened the English at Bombay with immediate invasion if they continued to admit the Siddee's fleet, and warned them of his intention to fortify the island of Elephanta within four miles of the fort, with which it would then have divided the command of the harbour, he upbraided the Portuguese at Chaul, for suffering the descent of the Siddees into his territory within sight of their walls, and demanded ground under their guns to build a fort, which should controul the landing in future, and to excite more deference, ordered his fleet at Rajapore to take possession of the islands of Anchideva, intending from thence to enthrall the trade of Goa, as well as to protect his own at Carwar.

The steep shores of the river Penn opposed the march of horse from Gallian into the Corlahs, nevertheless five thousand men were stationed to defend the fords, and under their protection a fort was raising at the mouth of the river to prevent the entrance of the Siddee's gallivats. In the Corlahs and low country from Negotan to Chaul were 15,000 men, and 10,000 continued at Dunda Rajapore, in all 30,000 on this side the Gaults, besides his fleet, which now amounted to one hundred and twenty gallivats and fifteen grabs. On the other side of the Gaults between Satarah and the pass of Pondah were stationed 20,000 horse to oppose Sultan Azim from Ahmednagur. The treasuries of Sevagi supplied this expence to the westward, and the Canatic maintained itself.

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SECRET
1682 The Siddee with his whole fleet of smaller vessels, as well as the ships, continued watching Gingerah until the season began to roughen and on the 12th of April came into the harbour of Bombay where the English presidency of Surat, more afraid of the Mogul's displeasure than Sambagi, had ordered their admittance.

As soon as they had taken up their stations under the island most of Sambagi's gallivats, more than a hundred began to rendezvous from the southward at their intended winter quarters in the river Negotan, and under the island Kenary which has a bay fit for small craft. During the slatches of fair weather several skirmishes passed between these hussars of the sea, but the Siddee's gallivats had the advantage of making prize of trading boats, without resistance, and of ravaging the defenceless parts of Sambagi's shores without the harbour from which they brought away the inhabitants, whose noses they cut off in outrage on which Sambagi prohibited all provisions from the Corlaks to Bombay and the Portuguese, always glad of distressing the island refused any from their lands to the northward, and the scarcity which ensued increased the price to threefold the usual rates.

The camp at Dunda Rajapore, after the departure of Sambagi, desisted from the mound but gathered boats and having demolished the opposite fortifications of Gingernli, made the attack in August but the unstable footing of the broken rock and surging sea, exposed them with much disadvantage in the assault.

assault, and they were beaten off with the loss of two hundred men

The weather having begun to settle, thirty gallivats came out of the river Negotan on the 5th of October, they were commanded by Siddee Misery, a relation of Siddee Samboli, who, on his removal from the command of the fleet of their community had taken service with Sambagi Siddee Cossim at Mazagong was apprized, and put off with fifteen gallivats crowded with his best men The fight continued four hours in sight of the fort of Bombay, and ended with victory to the Siddee, who brought back four of the enemy's gallivats, one of which was that in which Siddee Misery hoisted his flag He was brought ashore at Mazagong mortally wounded, but the council would not permit any other of the prisoners to be landed Thus much for the operations at sea during this monsoon

Aurengzebe had moved from Brampole to Aurengabad in March, in order to be nearer the war against Sambagi His general Husein Ally, to save his horses from the deluges of the monsoon, repassed the gauts in May to the upper country, where this season is much less violent Sultan Azim with Bahadar Khan had advanced in February from Aurengabad to Nassir Tirmeck on the river Gungah and near its source sixty miles to the south-west of Aurengabad, then detachments reduced several posts on detached hills, and then uniting sat down before one of greater consequence called Ramdeo, on

SECTR
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1682 which Hamedrow at this time the principal general of Sambagi, advanced from Satarah with all the troops of the eastern frontier to raise the siege. He gave battle, and was defeated with the loss of two thousand men and returned to the strong security of Satarah. At the same time the King of Vizapore menaced by Aurengzebe and the fear of Sultan Azim's approach to his country sent his army to attack Sambagi's frontiers opposite to his own capital where they took a strong fort called Menek on which Sambagi proposed a defensive alliance against the Mogul which certainly was the interest of Vizapore. The king demanded the restitution of Pannela, as a preliminary which, as the first acquisition of importance made by Sevagi as well as its commanding situation towards Vizapore, was highly rated by the Morattoo government and Sambagi preferred the danger of refusal to the dishonour of acquiescence.

The fleet which Aurengzebe had ordered to be prepared at Surat was ready to sail in the beginning of November Dowlet Caun contended under Sambagi in the post of Admiral in chief to which he had been raised by Sevagi, and was at Negotan with the main division of gallivats, when Siddee Mistry was defeated he had formed various but ineffectual schemes to burn the Siddee's fleet and now received positive orders from Sambagi to invade Bombay at all events, before the arrival of the Moguls on which the militia of the island was raised but the apprehension was soon removed by the

arrival of an ambassador from Sambagi, sent expressly to inform them that he had received certain intelligence from Bahadar Khan, whom he had visited, that Aurangzebe intended to take Bombay from the English by surprise, and afterwards reduce Bassin and Daman, belonging to the Portuguese, that Sambagi, sensible of the great danger to which his own country would be exposed by the Mogul's possession of these fortresses, proposed a defensive alliance with the English, to operate on occasion, that, relying on his assistance, they should forbid the Siddee the resort of their harbour, and refuse admittance to the Mogul's fleet coming from Suiaf he requested that one of the council might accompany the return of his ambassador to Railee

SFCR

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1682

It chanced at this time that the company's trade on the coast of Coromandel required the favour of Sambagi's authority, a valuable part of the investment provided at Madras was manufactured in those parts of the Carnatic, to the south, which was first reduced by Viziapore, and afterwards by Sevagi In the year 1673, application had been made to the Viziapore governor of Gingee, for permission to establish other factories in that territory besides the one which the company already had at Conimecr, but nothing was concluded before the invasion of Sevagi in 1677, after which the intention was suspended until the end of the year 1681, when Mr Elihu Yale, second to the president Mr Gifford, was deputed to Haigee Rajah, commanding at Gingee, and procured a fac-

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SECT 1682 tory at Cudalore A ship had been sent with the same intention, from Madras to Porto Novo in July of the present year 1682 but the Morattoo governor there, not wholly dependent on Hargee Rajah, demanded such exorbitant terms, that the ship returned with the factors and cargo Even Hargee Rajah had imposed an additional duty on all the cloth provided for the company within his immediate districts : In consequence the council of Madras requested the presidency at Surat to procure a phirnaund from Sambagi for the abolishment of the impost with his permission to build a fort somewhere near Cudalore, and his order for the punishment of the governor of Porto Novo. The presidency at Surat had recommended this négociation to Bombay as nearer Raicee, a few days before Sambagi's ambassador arrived there, whose intelligence concerning the Mogul's intentions was corroborated by the Portuguese governor of Dassein and the return of the Mogul's army down the gauti to Gallion but under the command of another general named Rammout Cawn.

The ambassador unfortunately became a witness of the very injuries of which he complained the Sudder vexed at the necessity of his departure to give place to the Mogul's fleet no longer regarded any measure of decency with Bombay but continually made descent for plunder in some part or other of the Corlahs and on the 28th of November his gallants entered the river Penn, where little had been done to the intended

intended fort, and brought two hundred prisoners to Mazagong, which the council dared not resent, excepting by expostulation, to which he replied, that this was his harvest, for when the Mogul's fleet arrived, he should get nothing

This fleet began to appear on the 28th of November, and, bringing the acquiescence of the presidency of Surat, sailed into the harbour without the compliment of notice, and having anchored their vessels, landed three thousand soldiers at Mazagong, who were all Moors, and men of service, whose insolent deportment would have persuaded a stranger that the whole island belonged to them, and that the English held the fort on sufferance, which was obliged to watch its gates with every precaution against treachery and surprise

On the 20th of December, Sambagi's ambassador, with one of the council, sailed for the river Negotan in the company's balloon, or boat of ceremony, which was attended by a luggage boat Both were boarded at the entrance of the river, and particular search was made for the ambassador, who lay concealed, and was afterwards set on shore in the mud, to get to Ranee as he could, but the gallivats carried off the luggage boat The outrage was represented to Ramnaut Cawn, at Gallian, by a deputation from the council, which he received with much solemnity, and protracted the negotiation in expectation of a present, which the council refused to the presidency at Surat, for whose consent they waited a month, when they gave Ramnaut Cawn five thousand rupees, and his lieut.

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1682

SECT
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1682 general Rohilla Cawn some claret which produced an injunction to the officers of both fleets to refrain from depredations in the Corlahs, or any insult to the government of Boumbay which in the interval they had exercised with extreme licentiousness.

* 72 In this year 1682, the English company's factors were expelled from Bantam in the island of Java where the settlement was rated as an agency equal with Calcutta and Madras, responsible only to Sumt, and having subordinate factories at Siam, Tonquin, Emoy and Jamboo. The Dutch ever since they got possession of Batavia, had gradually annihilated, or reduced to subjection, all the principalities of Java, which bordered on the coast excepting the king of Bantam, who, being old and voluptuous, resigned the government to his son, but stipulated that he should keep in office the two ministers who had been his own but the new king as soon as settled put them both to death on which the principal lords or orankoys revolted and putting the old king at their head had very nearly reduced his son in the fortress of his palace when the Dutch at Batavia sent a strong force, which beat and dispersed the confederacy and took the old king prisoner after which, on their injunctions, their ally obliged all the English to quit the city and the Dutch now pretending hospitality, received them with what effects they could fare at Batavia from whence they proceeded in ships of their own or hired, some to Sjirat others to England. The trade of the subordinates did not long survive the loss of the principal factory

and all together with consequences was rated in the public memorials at 400,000 pounds sterlinc

SECT.

I

1682.

Sultan Azim, having reduced the fort of Meuck, reposcd his army during the rains, and took the field again in November. Delhire Khan now acted as his lieutenant-general. They advanced between Rairce and Satarah, and threatened both But Sambagi in person, and all his Morattoes, exerted themselves with redoubled activity to protect their capitals, and the mountains lay thick to assist their interruptions and ambuscades, which harassed the Mogul's troops with continual alerts, and every where checked their progress, who as usual blamed their generals, and murmured at this barren and impracticable war. In the month of February the king of Viziapore died, on which Aurengzebe ordered Sultan Azim to march into that kingdom, in order to try what advantage would be taken of this event

1683.

The two fleets likewise sailed from Bombay in the beginning of February, the Mogul's made some descents on Sambagi's coasts, but effected nothing either of damage or gain adequate to the strength and expence of their equipment. The Siddee kept cruizing near his station off Gingerah, and Sambagi's fleet out of reach of both, who in the middle of March returned to Bombay, where the Siddee paying no regard to the injunctions of Ramnaut Cawn renewed his depredations, on the Corlahs. On the 20th of April, although a month remained of the fair season, orders came to the Mogul's fleet,

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SECT I
1683 to return to Surat and at the same time Rannian Carr & army was recalled from Gallian and Sultan Azim with his from Vizapore. No one knew the reason excepting Aurengzebe himself who gave out that he intended to return to Delli

In the beginning of the year one of the Company's ships named the President, which had been bravely defended by the same captain Hyde against the Dutch fleet at Metchlepatam arrived on the Malabar coast and proceeding to Bom bay was attacked off Sanguiseer by two ships and four grabs¹¹ three of the grabs grappled the crew of one boarded were beaten off and the grab itself sunk close alongside the two others were cleared and one of them blew up so near that the flash scorched many of the Presidents men in the lower deck and set her on fire in sixteen places soon after the other grab sunk likewise on which the remainder of the squadron sailed away Of the floating men some cut the Presidents long boat from the stern and others were received into the ship Most of them were Arabs, and all that fleet from Muscat they pretended to have mistaken the President for a Portuguese ship which they were waiting for but it was afterwards discovered at Rajapore, that they had all been hired by Sambagi The President had eleven men killed and thirty five wounded and was obliged to put into Goa to repair her damages As soon as this event was known at Bom bay the counsellor before intended was sent again, and arrived at Raicee, to whom Sambagi utterly denied any knowledge

ledge of the Arabs, but consented to grant the privileges requested for the company's trade in the Gingee country on the coast of Coromandel, but the councillor, from some intemperance, if not disorder, of mind, came away abruptly whilst the writings were preparing

S E C T.

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1683.

The Siddee's fleet continued after the departure of the Mogul's with their usual licentiousness in the harbour, and their usual insolence on shore. the soldiers of the garrison frequented the same market at Mazagong, and two of them going thither unarmed, were, on some quarrel, cut down by two of the Siddee's pitans, one died the next day, and the other was recovered with difficulty. Siddee Coffim sent off the murderer privately to Surat, where the English presidency demanded him, in order to be tried at Bombay, and the governor of the city had nearly consented, when an outrage committed against the Siddee at Bombay impaired the claim.

The murder was committed in May, and in July the crazy councillor with others from the shore dined on board a ship just arrived from England, the company, heated with wine, went on board the Siddee's admiral, knowing that Siddee Coffim himself was on board - they used abusive language, and the captain drew his sword, which was wrested from him, and he was wounded in the leg all were easily overpowered, and without farther resentment put into their boat the captain, as soon as returned to his ship, fired her whole broadside

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1683

into the Siddees, who did not return a shot. Signals and messengers from the shore stopped a repetition of the outrage, and expresses were dispatched by the council before it was known on shore what mischief had been done, to anticipate the Siddees complaint at Surat where all the English continued for two days under the utmost apprehensions of the populace, who although restrained by the governor from immediate violence, crowded the streets, impatient to know what Mahomedan blood they should have to revenge but fortunately no one was killed in the Siddees ship and only two or three were slightly wounded.

The design which Sambagi had formed in the preceding year to take possession of the islands of Anjuldera, had been prevented by the government of Goa, who in July sent soldiers, artificers, and inhabitants, to settle and defend the islands on which Sambagi ordered his officers in the conquered country adjoining the territory of Goa to commit such hostilities as their force enabled and mutual attacks and incursions, but of no great moment had continued between them until the setting in of the rains in this year when Sambagi as regardless of seasons as his father came down the gaults in June with 50 000 men and from his own town of upper Chaul, invested the neighbouring citadel of the same name belonging to the Portuguese but could make little progress against the advantages of European defence and fortification To retaliate the Viceroy of Goa took the field as soon as the fair weather returned in September with 1 000 Europeans

Sect
I.
1683.

Europeans and 25,000 natives of his own territory, a fleet of small vessels cruized at the same time from Anchideva on the trade of Carwar, and even into the river. The army carried fire and sword even into the temples, and the Inquisition burnt the prisoners. The stationary force in this part of Sambagi's country was not equal to the Viceroy's, who advanced and laid siege to the castle of Pondah; on which Sambagi, accompanied by Sultan Acbar, set off from Chaul with 8,000 horse and 14,000 foot, in order to raise this siege, but without discontinuing his own against Chaul. By this time Sultan Acbar was convinced of the inability of Sambagi's alliance to contest the throne of the Moguls against the power of his father Aurengzebe, he therefore resolved to quit India, and on some excuse withdrew from the operations of the field, and took up his residence at Bicholim, within twenty miles of Goa.

Sambagi came in sight of Pondah, when breached in three places, and the assault intended in two days. The Viceroy did not break up his camp until surrounded, which reduced him to the options of famine, retreat, or surrender. The distance to Goa was thirty miles, nevertheless he resolved to force his way. Every step was harassed by horse and foot, to which the line abandoned the baggage and heavy artillery, before the close of the first day they lost two hundred Europeans and one thousand of the natives, before they reached the island of Cumbareem, which is separated from the city, formed by two channels of the river, which separate and unite again. A sufficient

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SECRET
1655 sufficient number of boats armed with pederaroes were prepared to secure the passage over both Sambagi's infantry got boats, in which three thousand of them passed into the island when the Portuguese boats rowing round intercepted their return who when thus confined, were attacked by the retreating army, and most of them destroyed. This was the first trial of regular hostility between an European power and the Morttoes, to whom it may be deemed successful; for the Portuguese did not venture to appear abroad again, and as their pride would not permit them to ask assistance, they proposed an alliance to Aurengzebe

Sambagi observing with vexation, that the Portuguese had made greater progress in the attack of Pondah in ten days, than his father had been able in three months, entirely demolished the fort, which then stood upon lower ground, and set the whole country to work to raise another on a neighbouring hill which is the fort of Pondah, existing at this day

Sambagi's army continuing master of the field distressed at least the luxuries of Goa, during which he himself led a detachment against the Rajah of Sundah, who although his tributary had assisted the Portuguese. During this expedition, Sambagi gave a signal instance of devotion to his religion A Mahomedan of rank who commanded one of his garrisons, bought a cow at Carwar, and killed it for his meals; for which Sambagi put him publicly to death. Discipline alone would scarcely have revenged its interdict with so much severity; but it is a solemn oath

OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE

-125

oath amongst the Hindoos to put the hand upon the head of a cow, and to imprecate, "may I eat the flesh of this animal"

SECT

I

1683

In the mean time Sultan Acbar at Bicholin had purchased a ship at Goa which came to Vingorlah, when he repaired to the Dutch factory there, and from thence on board It was impossible that his intentions could have been concealed from Sambagi, for they were known to Aurengzebe at Aurengabad, but respect to his high birth and quality prevented any opposition to his will, and Sambagi might suppose that Acbar had held out this purpose of departure only to excite his own exertions in his support, which had been promised for two years without the least effect, but as soon as he was on board, Sambagi deputed to him his lieutenant general, and Cablis Cawn the minister of his pleasures, whose protestations prevailed on him to come ashore again

The report of the country said that Sambagi would take Goa, which Aurengzebe did not deem improbable; and although he always affected to despise the European settlements, saw what would be the importance of the acquisition to Sambagi's power, and the views of Sultan Acbar, and therefore moved from Aurengabad to Ahmednagur, in order to be nearer the protection of Goa, as well as to the war of Viziapore, which he had determined to renew At the same time he ordered his own fleet at Surat, which now consisted of twelve sail; and the Siddee's, which was at Bombay, to proceed down the coast, in order to co-operate with an army he intended.

~~SECRET~~
I
1683 intended to send over the guns. The Siddee might have sailed in the beginning of September, but waited for money from Surat (without which he would not move,) until the end of October and even then the Mogul's fleet was not ready to sail from Surat.

As soon as the Siddee's fleet had left the harbour of Bombay the gallivats of Sambagi came out of Negotan and Hundry to assist the siege of Chaul but could not prevent a Portuguese frigate from landing a supply of military stores and provisions. The direction of the Mogul's forces to the southward having relieved Raicee and Satarah from the solicitude of defence an army of fifteen thousand men came down the gauts in December and encamped at Gallian from whence they ravaged all the Portuguese country between Bassein and Daman which was not under the cannon of these fortifications and reduced seven of their out forts. On the 21st the Mogul's fleet from Surat came into the harbour as well to display their force to the English government as to awe the marines of Sambagi which respected them so little that a detachment of troops coming in gallivats from the river Penn landed on the 24th of December and took possession of the island Caranjali which lieth at the bottom of the harbour of Bombay and belonged to the Portuguese who had stationed gallivats from Bassein to prevent the landing which were not sufficient to oppose it. Whatsoever discomfort the Mogul's fleet might receive from this mischance to their allies, for as such

such they regarded the Portuguese by reason of their war with Sambagi, it was alleviated by an event of much more dangerous consequence to the English affairs, which happened on this very day in the island of Bombay, of which the increasing strength and importance had long excited the grudge and jealousy of the city of Surat

SECT.

I

1683.

The time was now come when the company's interests were doomed to suffer more detriment from their fellow subjects, than they had hitherto endured from all the governments of India, the charters and acts of parliament had not given them distinctly, although intended, the privilege of exclusive trade; and the spirit of commerce, which sees its drifts with eagle's eyes, formed associations at the risque of trying the consequence at law, being safe at the outset and during the voyage, since the statutes did not authorize the company to seize or stop the ships of these adventurers, whom they called interlopers. The first ship, under the direction of one Say, had arrived in the month of September of the preceding year 1682, at Muscat on the Arabian shore, where he settled a factory, intending to draw to this port, out of the reach of the company's settlements and influence in India, all the commodities he wanted from thence for Europe, besides what more were to be obtained nearer hand, or from other ports. Another ship came to Goa in October, three were going to Bengal, and one coming to Surat, where the presidency discovered, by intercepted letters, that two of the council, Petit and Boucher,

had

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 1689 had not only encouraged but taken part in some of the interloping ships on which they were dismissed the company's service and took the protection of the Mogul's government in the city to whom they revealed whatsoever they supposed might produce mischief and promised the governor a present out of the cargoes they expected. The presidency demanded their persons as debtors to the company in which case the plummards granted by three Moguls disclaimed the protection of English subjects but Petit and Boucher counteracted this plea by procuring merchants of the city who were subjects of the Mogul, to demand their detention for debts to themselves so that after a short and civil confinement, both were released without other restraint than an eye watch when several discontented Englishmen who traded with the company's licence, although not in their service joined in community with them and all together presented a petition to the Mogul for a separate trade, and requested that Petit and Boucher might come to his court. In the mean time the three ships that went to Bengal had met with zealous advice and assistance from Vincent and Pitt who had been principal agents of the company but lately dismissed for irregularities. Hitherto the company grounded on the first plummards obtained by Boughton from Sultan Sujah in 1656 had paid no customs to the Bengal government until the three last years when the same rate of three and a half per cent which was levied at Surat was demanded; but not to establish a precedent,

SECT

I

1683

n. 73.

dent, this claim, as often as it arose, had been put to sleep with presents. But the interlopers, directed by Vincent, paid the customs willingly, and made presents into the bargain, which facilitated their dealings, and the three ships sailed with full cargoes for England in January, within four months after their arrival. Chaeft Khan, the uncle of Aurengzebe, was at this time nabob of Bengal, to which he had been removed in 1666, in consequence of his adventure with Sevagi. He was as avaricious as the meanest of his dependants, and took the greatest share of what they had got from the interlopers, and from his hunger of these new perquisites recommended the utilities of the interloping trade to Aurengzebe, who, in deference to his opinion, gave the phirmaund which Petit and Boucher were soliciting. It arrived at Surat in June, with permission for them to come to court, on which they set out their equipages, to be admired at the city gates, but whilst loitering there, Sir John Child, the president, prevailed on the governour to delay their passports, under pretence of informality in the Mogul's permission. In the mean time a counter order was procured, on which Petit and Boucher discharged their preparations for the journey, and continued seemingly quiet in the city but, two months after, in the beginning of September, Boucher went away privately, and got to Auren-gabad. In October a ship, called the Society, of one hundred tons, which had long been expected by Petit, arrived at Daman, and on his petition to the governour of Surat, was

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permitted

1685 ~~1~~ permitted to come into the river where he managed her business

Both Petit and Boucher by their long continuance and late rank in the company's service were connected with many others and on their apostasy corresponded with their initiates at Bombay representing the interlopers as protected by the king and encouraged by the sense of the nation averse to the company as a monopoly to the ruin of which whosoever might contribute, would (as they pretended) have little to fear At this time the regular military at Bombay were four hundred men rated as Europeans, although mixed with Topasses. The highest commission was a captain and only one of this which was held by Heigwin who had served with approbation against Kenary in 1674 The Europeans were equally divided into three companies, of which he commanded the first the other two were commanded by Fletcher and Thornburn who were only lieutenants The directors in England had lately disapproved of several allowances to the military officers and had even reduced the rate of exchange at which the common soldiers, as well as they were paid and not content with establishing new regulations for the future, insisted that the officers should refund the surplus of what they had received beyond the reform The officers remonstrated with hasty discontent but the company's orders were positive and were enforced with pertinacity by the supreme council at Surat which was imputed to the haughty austerity

of the president Sir John Child. The officers, long indulged in licentious manners, formed a conspiracy amongst themselves, and secured the concurrence of the soldiery, without exciting even a surmise of their intentions in the council of the island, and indeed the enormity of the attempt precluded the suspicion

SECT

I.

1683

On the 24th of December, Keigwin, backed by the guard of the fort, seized the deputy governor, Mr Charles Ward, with the four members of the council. The inhabitants without saw the whole body of the troops ready to support their officers, and attempted no resistance. A proclamation was issued, vesting the government of the island in Keigwin, Fletcher, Thornburn, and two ensigns, as a council, who declared their intention of holding it for the king, and menaced pain of death against all attempts to recover it for the company. Three days after arrived the Hunter frigate, commanded by Alderton, bound with merchandize and treasure from Surat for the factories at Carwar and Callicut, and Alderton was prevailed upon to deliver the cargo to the rebels, and to continue in the command of the vessel in their service. Three days after one of the company's ships from England came into the harbour, the captain went ashore, and as walking to the fort was met by a friend, who told him what had happened, on which he returned to his ship, fired upon by some small arms from the soldiers, and sailed to Surat, where he brought the first authentic information of the revolt.

SECT
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1684

Six of the company's ships, with their usual compliment of one hundred seamen were at this time in the road of Swally of which three were taking in their lading for England. On the 6th of January the other three ships were dispatched to Bombay with three members of the presidency empowered to treat with the rebels, who neither heeded their proposals, nor would make any of their own and had sent away all the late council of the island excepting the deputy governor. The ships nevertheless continued in the harbour and on the 30th of January arrived the other three from Surat with Sir John Child who formally summoned the rebels to surrender the island on pain of high treason which only exasperated them the more and they had well nigh resolved to imprison the two commissioners who brought the summons on shore. The three ships for England were soon after dispatched but Sir John Child continued with the others in the harbour until the 20th of February when convinced that all his endeavours of accommodation would be ineffectual he returned with them to Surat and on the way left factors at Versorab on Salcette to gain intelligence, with little hopes of any good.

In the beginning of this year 1684 commenced the operations of Aurengzebe against Sambagi towards Goa when Sultan Maurum with a vast army of which 40 000 were cavalry forced the gauts with little resistance and met less in the plainer country for Sambagi sensible that his force could not stand before them in the field left garrisons in his strong holds,

holds, and joined with the main body of his army to Raja-pore, between which and Goa are six rivers. The Mogul's army spread down to the sea between Goa and the river Cary, which bounds the present territory of Molundy. They fed on the herds and harvests of the field, and, after collecting all the grain in store, burnt the towns and villages, and Sultan Mauzum, to please his father still more, desiled and destroyed the pagodas, and sacked Vingorlah with fury for having given refuge to Sultan Acbar but the Dutch factory defended themselves from their windows until they had bought off the attack.

SECT.
I
1684

The stock of provisions in the country were not sufficient to sustain this wretched multitude. The Mogul's fleet from Surat escorting many transports with grain arrived towards the end of January off the bar of Goa, and the admiral relying on the appearance of intended relief to the Portuguese, sailed on to enter the harbour, but the viceroy had discovered that he was secretly instructed to seize the city, and keep it for the Mogul, and forbade the entrance by the fire of the batteries which command it. On this repulse the fleet returned to the entrance of the river Bardez, where they landed their provisions, which were but a short supply to such a host, and the convoys from the inland continually failed by the difficulty of the carriage over the mountains, which this increasing necessity obliged Sultan Mauzum to repass in the beginning of March, but he encamped within twenty miles of the ridge,

waiting

1684 waiting his father's orders, either to join his brother Sultan
 Ann who was acting with another army against Vizapore
 or to return into the Concan if Sambagi should again press
 upon Goa. At the same time the Mogul's fleet returned to-
 wards Surat, and soon after Sambagi to Rauree, having first
 sent back his troops to retake possession of the country which
 they had abandoned to the Moguls, in doing which they met
 with no resistance but were deterred by the vicinity of Sultan
 Mauzum from the immediate renewal of hostilities against
 Goa where the government, convinced of the danger of any
 alliance with Aurengzebe, made overtures of peace to Samba-
 gi for which he demanded five millions of rupees.

The Siddee having been received at Bombay in April with
 as much welcome by the rebels as by Sir John Child thought
 he should find no restraint from them in the renewal of his
 'former forbidden practices in the harbour where his gallivats
 openly invested the opposite shores belonging to Sambagi,
 without endeavouring to conceal their captures, although they
 brought away the inhabitants themselves as well as their pro-
 perties. These injuries, because not repressed by the rebels,
 made Sambagi's officers prevent the exportation of all kinds
 of provisions to the island. At the same time the Portuguese,
 as heretofore from envy to the prosperity of Bombay now
 from respect to good government, had refused the rebels all
 assistance or supply from Salcette and their northern lands.
 Want prevailed, and Alderton was sent with the Revenge to
 bring

bring grain from Surat, which Petit was to provide. She arrived on the 24th of March, at Swally, where the three ships of the company were taking in their lading, they anchored close, and threatened to board, discussion ensued, and Alderton, on the promise of pardon, surrendered the frigate. On this disappointment Petit went privately from the city on board a ship of his own, which the governor's pass protected from the company's, and proceeded in her to Bombay, where he became a welcome adviser to the rebels.

SECT.

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1684.

They in the mean time had severely checked the Siddee, and forbade his gallivats to continue at Mazagong, or to come there for any other purpose than to get water, so that he was obliged to make them rendezvous at his own island of Kenaiy, and finding that his influence with the rebels was not what he expected, he went away with his ships and larger vessels to Surat, as soon as the Mogul's fleet passed the harbour in their way thither, which was in the beginning of April. In his dungeon, but under the pretence of mistaking the intention, he took with him the two men who were to have watched at Kenaiy, and delivered them back to the English presidency at Surat.

The rebels had likewise thought it necessary to apologize to Sambagi, for the late outrages of the Siddee, and took the fair opening of a request which had been made by Sambagi before the revolution, on the absurd conduct of the councillor that had been sent to him, that Captain Gary might come to settle

SECT

I

1684

settle matters. Gary was originally a Greek but had been on the island ever since it was delivered up by the Portuguese, and had borne several commissions, civil as well as military whilst it was under the government of the crown before it was formally yielded up to the company by whom he was suspected and discarded. He was a busy man of much vanity, intrigue and plausibility and availing himself of his former consequence and connexions, had contrived to keep up his correspondence with all the neighbouring governors. He had moreover been personally known to Seragi who did not dislike his talents, and no choice could be more acceptable to the rebels, as he was supposed to be the secret promoter of all their counsels which however on this occasion at least were not utterly devoid of national loyalty but hoping the establishment of a new company they provided for a general concern by instructing Gary to require the completion of former agreements, as well as the redress of late violations, and to solicit the permissions which had been requested by the government of Madras, for the freedom and increase of their trade in the Gingee country. Sambagi from the fear of desperate resolutions in men who were holding nothing they were not sure to lose, and from the hope of gaining them to his own views, which were to get the island for himself treated Gary with much attention. He confirmed the articles allowed by Seragi to Mr Oxenden agreed to pay £ 600 pagodas remaining due, according to his own accounts for compensation.

compensation of the losses formerly sustained in the pillage of Rajapore, Hubely, and Huttany In the Gingee country he granted a factory at Cudalore and Thevenapatain, with the ancient immunities allowed by Viziapore to the factory at Commeer, and allowed free trade at Porto Novo Keigwin and his council are named in the patents as the parties to whom the grants are made

SECT
I
1684

On the 15th of July one of the company's ships, called the East-India Merchant, arrived in the harbour with fifty soldiers for the garrison, whom the commander, Davis, a weak man, was seduced to land for the sake of selling his private adventure to the rebels, although at the same time he acknowledged the authority of the presidency at Surat, from whom he received orders to continue in the harbour, and they at the same time sent two vessels, with two of the council, who were to superintend the vigilance of all the three in preventing the rebels from getting provisions Soon after came an interloper from England, who attempted intercourse with the shore, but was beaten out of the harbour by the fire of the East-India Merchant, and proceeded to Surat In September, two ships bound thither from France, put into the harbour, where they continued several days, and supplied the rebels with refreshments and abundance of wine On the 2d of October another trading ship, belonging to Petit, got under the guns of the fort A few days after they received intelligence, that a ship of eighty guns, which the company had purchased, and

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named

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1684
— 74.

named Charles the Second was in sight of Surat, having on board two hundred and fifty soldiers and the captain a commission from the King against pirates, on which authority the presidency intended to employ her in reducing the island. On this news Petit, in his ship sailed out of the harbour in the night of the 20th of October unnoticed by the East India Merchant and the smaller vessels on watch. Two days after his ship was attacked off the head land of St. Johns by several Sanguanian vessels and the ship took fire by an explosion of powder which scorched many of the crew and all got into the long boat and yawl. The yawl gained the land but the long-boat was taken and in her Petit who had received a concussion of the brain by a fall as jumping into her. The boat was carried to Gogo, where he died a few days after.

On the 3d of November Sir Thomas Grantham arrived in the Charles the Second empowered by the presidency to treat with the rebels. They were pressed by scarcity and admitted a conference which lasted six days and when articles were nearly concluded one of the soldiers in the fort fired a pistol at Sir Thomas Grantham in hopes of breaking off the treaty by this act of treachery which however his comrades and officers disavowed and signed the articles which granted amnesty and pardon of all crimes and misdemeanors to all persons, and even restoration to their former ranks and employment in the company's service which most accepted but not Keigwin who only stipulated for his passage to England.

land with Grantham; and soon after sailed with him to Surat, where he set no restraint to the antipathy of his invectives against Sir John Child * SECT
I.
1684.

The agreement for the surrender of the fort and island to Sir Thomas Grantham, was settled on the 11th of November, nearly eleven months after they had been wrested from the legal government. The revolt began, continued, and ended without bloodshed, excepting in a drunken quarrel at table, when Keigwin was wounded by his second Thornburn. At first all who openly disavowed their authority, were either imprisoned, restrained, or sent off the island, but they kept the deputy governor, Mr Ward, in close confinement to the end. They destroyed the dwelling-house of Alderton, in revenge of his defection. They had cautiously refrained from opening the treasure, which he surrendered to them with the Hunter frigate. Nor did they use any of the company's property, unless for public service, such as the diet, cloathing, and arming of the garrison, and for maintaining the works and vessels.

* Sir John Child and the Presidency at Surat, appointed Charles Zinzan to be deputy governor. Charles Ward, the former deputy governor, to be second, Sir Thomas Grantham to have a temporary seat, even before C Ward, John English (Agent we think of Persia), with John Gladman, and John Vaux, to be of council. Doctor S John, D L to assist. This commission is dated at Swally Marine, December 12th, 1684. Sir Thomas Grantham and C Ward were then at Bombay, the others arrived there on the 16th of December, in what, or with what ships, is not said, they consulted on board the Charles the Second on the 17th, and on the 18th Zinzan went ashore at noon, received the keys from Sir T Grantham, and was received by the garrison with content.

It does not appear that the Siddee, or any of his people or fleet, were on the island, or in the harbour, at this time

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~~1684~~ They raised money by the established taxes with additions which were so judiciously imposed that they were continued after the legal government was restored. They kept on fair terms without yielding to the Siddee, who had lately returned with his ships from Surat, but watched against surprise either from him or Sambagi both of whom would have given much for the island.

On the 12th of December arrived one of the Company's ships dispatched from Surat, with a deputy governor, Mr Charles Zinxan and three members of a new council attended by a judge of the admiralty court, lately arrived from England. They were appointed by the presidency and after the necessary precautions had been taken landed on the 17th when Sir Thomas Grantham formally delivered the keys at the gate of the castle to Mr Zinxan and caused the new commission to be read at the head of all the troops drawn up on the parade amongst whom were a few murmurs, but most in general were satisfied with the change. The next day the soldiers which had come from England in Sir Thomas Grantham's ship, were incorporated in three companies, to which new officers were appointed but Fletcher who had behaved with moderation during the revolt was continued in the command of his, which was the youngest.

During this, the negotiation between Goa and Sambagi had continued and in June a person of distinction was sent from Bassan to Rauree but Sambagi persisted in his demand

mand of five millions of rupees, which the Portuguese were unable to pay, and farther correspondence ceased, on which, as soon as the rains were over, about September, the fleet of Bassein surprized and retook the island of Caranjah, and soon after Sambagi, accompanied by Sultan Ecbar, came down the gauts with 15,000 horse to Galliañ, from whence they spread ravage through the Portuguese country as far as Daman

SECT.
I
1684.

In the war of Viziapore, Sultan Azim had been defeated in two pitched battles, before the end of June, and in the last was dangerously wounded, which, with his ill fortune, and the rains, stopped his farther operations, and even Aurengzebe pretended to take time for consideration, but the perseverance of his mind left no doubt of the result, and the king of Golcondah, convinced that the fall of Viziapore would draw on his own, entered into a secret confederacy with this king. The country of Mysore was at this time divided amongst several Rajahs, of whom the most ancient and considerable was he of Seringapatam, and all of them had paid tribute to Viziapore, whilst able to defend its own territory against the Mogul, without withdrawing the troops necessary to awe its tributaries. But then homages had lately failed, and could not be reclaimed, from the want of a military force. Golcondah, from Gandicotah, and its frontier to the south west, had immediate entrance into Mysore, and troops unemployed sufficient to invade the country, which continuing no longer of use to Viziapore, the king consented that Golcondah should keep

1684

keep what parts of it he might conquer who in return supplied Vizapore with a vast sum of money and both sent a great deal to induce Sambagi to act against the Mogul in conformity with the operations of Vizapore.

Disturbances in the interior part of the empire at this time required attention. The city of Agra and all its roads had for many years been infested by bands of robbers, who at length had blended into one community which since the continuance of Aurengzebe in the Deccan had become superior in number and military effort to the established forces of the province. The Rajpoots of Joudpore and Chitore had during the two last years, beset the roads of Malva and Guzerat, and in this threatened more effectual hostilities. But neither these nor the distresses in the province of Agra availed with Aurengzebo to abate his exertions of conquest in the Deccan.

Sultan Mauzum waiting his father's resolutions, continued with his army near the gouts of Goa after he had repassed them in March and in September immediately after the rains, his camp was afflicted by a pestilence of which five hundred died in a day; nevertheless, the resignation of ignorance and predestination sought not the remedy by removing to more open ground.

Sambagi having swept the Portuguese country to the north of Salcette, encamped before Bassein which he intested on all sides, excepting the sea, which he could not command but received intelligence that a large body of the Mogul's troops were

were advancing to force the gauts and descend to Gallian, he broke up his camp on the 24th of November, and marched away to the northward, ravaging within forty miles of Surat, where the terror was great, but mistaken; for they turned through the mountains, which in this part are more open, and proceeded towards Railee. On the way one of his generals obtained his permission to go with the troops of his command, which were two thousand horse, to make their ablutions in the Gunga at Nassir Turmeck. The day after, Sambagi discovered that they intended, after their ceremonies, to desert to the Mogul, on which he detached six thousand horse, under pretence of the same pilgrimage, which might be credited, as every Morattoe is obliged to wash at least once a year in the Gunga, and in preference at Nassir Turmeck. The deserters received their pursuers as companions, who attacked, and, according to the report of the country, slew every man of them.

Towards the end of the ensuing January, which brings us into the year 1685, ten thousand horse set off from Railee under four generals, and ravaged as far as Brämpore, with more than ordinary haste and devastation. We learn this from the English factors at Drongom, who had but two hours to escape, and every house in the town was either pillaged or burnt. The whole country was in flames, Auiengzebe dispatched six thousand horse from Ahmednagur, under the command of Bahadar Khan, who never came within six days of the pursuit. He soon after sent his son Cawn Buksh with

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1684.

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12,000

~~SECT~~ 1^o 000 more to command at Brampore which was his first establishment in public business.

~~1685~~ Ahmednagar where Aurengzebe was residing is one hundred and thirty miles to the north of the city of Viziapore Sultan Mauzum's encampment at the foot of the gauts was about the same distance to the south west. Sultan Azim had renewed the war in the northern division of Viziapore, and in February took the fort of Solapore, which was considered, as the strongest bulwark of the capital towards Ahmednagar probably by the aid of treachery as the whole force of Viziapore was assembled on this side to oppose him. At this time Sultan Mauzum, by his father's orders, was advancing on the westward and met with no resistance in the field. Gocuck, Hubely and several other towns of note surrendered without resistance, and the stronger citadel of Darwar with little. From hence he advanced thirty miles farther to Gudack, which is sixty from Viziapore when, to interrupt his farther progress, 15 000 horse were detached from the main army who encamped within ten miles of Sultan Mauzum's, moving as they moved and cut off his convoys.

Bullal and Serji Khan were the two principal officers in the government of Viziapore whose long continued enmity the danger of the state had reconciled. Their abilities in the field equalled any of the officers of Aurengzebe and the cavalry of Viziapore serving under hereditary lords of the land of which they themselves had portions, either by inheritance or granted

for military service, were braver and better equipped in proportion to their numbers than any in Indostan, which alone accounts for their frequent victories over the Moguls. In April what remained with Bullal and Serji Khan routed Sultan Azim's army in a general battle, which quelled all dangers in the field, until the rains secured their winter quarters, after which both armies defied each other again, and in October Sultan Azim was again defeated. These repeated experiments of ill success induced Aurengzebe to order a cessation of all offensive hostilities, until he should himself arrive to conduct the war.

SECT
I
1685.

The government of Goa, to retaliate the ravage of their northern territory, spirited several of Sambagi's Desoys in Sundah and Carwar to revolt, and assisted them with three hundred Topasses; these hostilities commenced in February, ceased with the rains, and were renewed with the fair season. Sambagi, intent on operations against the Mogul, sent no reinforcements, and ordered what troops and officers remained faithful, to retire into the forts they had not lost, but his fleet of two ships and five grabs, stationed at Rajapore, cruised on the trade of the Portuguese and the revolted coast, nor was the marine force at Goa sufficient to oppose them. In October he sent off a body of six thousand horse from Rairee, which crossed the Tapti and Nerbeddah, and assaulted the city of Broach within a few hours after their approach was known, several parts of the wall were in ruins, and the governor and

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SECT
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1685 Several officers were killed in the onset after which the garrison bewildered were glad to save their lives by laying down their arms. The Morattoes, as soon as quiet was restored proclaimed Sultan Aebar Mogul and continued exacting ransoms and collecting plunder until the Subah of Ahmedabad began to advance with the troops of the province, on which they went off unmolested with their booty. Surat was, in the utmost consternation and began to remove to Swally. From this period we are deprived of cotemporary details concerning the operations of Sambagi.*

1686 In December Aurengzebe with his own army from Ahnied nagur joined his son Sultan Azim † at Solapore and called up Sultan Mauzum with his from Gudock. Either of the three were little inferior in numbers to the whole army of Viziapore; But Aurengzebe who although never moved by personal danger always avoided the brunt of arms, whenever he could gain his ends by other means, lavished promises and money to procure defections which, although operating by degrees left him in no doubt of the final success, of which he determined to give the honour to Sultan Azim but as the continuance of his eldest son Sultan Mauzum, in reach of operations he should not command would have marked a partiality disgraceful to the better part of his armies, he removed the

* Gentil says, in December 1685, Geaffordia Khan father of Nizamalmoobek, takes the two forts of Raebari, and of Narl, in the environs of Poonab.

† In March 1686, Khan Jahan Dohadoor leaves Viziapore Gentil.

dilemma by sending him off to attack the king of Golcondah, of whose concert with Viziapore and Sambagi, he had acquired information

SECT
I
1686.

The king of Golcondah, weak and voluptuous, was entirely governed by two bramins, Anconah and Moodapah, whom he had constituted by patent the principal ministers of the government, their rule was insolent, mean, and avaricious. They had conferred most of the civil offices of the state on persons either of their own cast or religion, to the great disgust of the Mahomedans, who held most of the principal commands in the army, and composed the whole body of cavalry, which was considered as the bulwark of the kingdom. No one abominated the dissonant influence of the two bramins more than Ibrahim Khan, the captain-general, who led the army against Sultan Mauzum, and suffered him to reduce Malquer, the principal barrier of the capital, with much less resistance than might have been made by the strength of the fortrefs, and the force in the field. This easy success suggested to Sultan Mauzum, that Ibrahim Khan might be gained to betray his command more effectually. The experiment succeeded, and many of the best troops came over with him. The command then devolved on Rustum Roy, who soon recruited the army with numbers more than the defection, but of much inferior service, and only kept the field by avoiding battle until they had reticated to within sight of the capital, Hyderabad, of which Sultan Mauzum took possession without resistance, on

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1686 Oct the* 9th of October The king before his arrival had taken refuge in the fortress of Golcondah and in such consternation that it was supposed he would, if pressed in the agony have surrendered Sultan Manzum invested the fortress, but dreading to add a crown to his own reputation which his father had once attempted but failed to seize, listened to the overtures of the king, who to preserve his diadem, proffered the humblest submissions with much gold and the most precious diamonds of his names to which Sultan Manzum in compliance to Ibrahim Khan added the death of the two bramins, and resorted the terms to Aurengzebe, who fully employed against Vizapore, permitted him to conclude them

In this kingdom repeated desertions had produced the same effect as the more general defection in Golcondah. The king retired into his capital with a large body of troops selected by his opinion of their fidelity The city of Vizapore was extensive and capable of some defence, and had a citadel of greater strength. But the king soon began to entertain doubts of his troops, which were probably suggested by the artifices of Aurengzebe, and retired to a neighbouring fort situated on an inexpugnable rock and soon after the city which had stood several assaults, surrendered This event, according to the best combination we can make, happened in the middle of June No troops remained in resistance in the field and

* Mr. Genil gives this date of the 9th of October but adds, that Sultan Manzum afterwards besieged the fortress.

SECT.
I
1686.

the forts vied in submission, after the reduction of the capital, from whence the Mogul's army proceeded to invest the retreat of the king, who seeing no chance of escape, capitulated, for the preservation of his life and the possession of his women and children.* He appeared before Aurengzebe in silver chains, and humbled himself to the dust, more with the demeanour of a captive rebel than a vanquished sovereign. It was for some time reported and believed, that Aurengzebe had put him to death

We have no account of Sambagi's operations in the field immediately subsequent to the surprise of Broach in October, 1685. The great force collected by the Mogul in the beginning of 1686 to reduce Viziapore, probably deterred him from any efforts to obstruct their operations in this country, but left him freer scope to the northward, between Aurengabad and Surat, of which we suppose that he availed himself, at least by plundering excursions. But whatsoever might have been his successes, the fall of Viziapore convinced Sultan Acbar that the future efforts of Sambagi in his behalf would be useless beyond the obtainment of pardon, which he despised, and of promises which he could not trust, he therefore resumed his former resolution of retiring to Persia, and Sambagi consented to his departure, as the most probable means of producing

* Mr Gentil says, he and the city were taken on the 1st of September 1687, and appeared before Aurengzebe on the 14th

Mr Anqueul du Perron proves that Viziapore was taken in the first days of October 1686.

more

I

SECRET more efficacious exertions against their common enemy. A ship commanded by an Englishman named Bendal was hired at Rajapore and Sultan Acbar with a slender retinue embarked in her as soon as the monsoon was changed in October. The ship arrived at Muscat in November from whence Sultan Acbar proceeded in another embarkation to Bushire and was escorted to Ispahan where the king of Persia received him with all the attentions suitable to his high birth and fallen estate.

— b. i. 5. 1

The departure of Sultan Acbar removed one half of the importance and anxiety of the war against Sambagi and made Aurengzebe regret the terms he had granted to the king of Golcondah, which he determined nevertheless to break but wished without hope, the concurrence of Sultan Mauzum who by his order had ratified the treaty. Assuming therefore the appearance of indifference to his object he proposed to the deliberation of the council against whom enemy the stress of the war should be directed. Sultan Mauzum professed at any forfeit to accomplish the entire reduction of Sambagi and his country. Sultan Asim as little in the secret but always envious of his brother Mauzum, advised that Aurengzebe should conduct this war in person but Cawn Bukshi instructed by his mother Udepatti, proposed the immediate conquest of Golcondah. Sultan Mauzum saw from whence this arrow parted and replied with indignation that the ambition of the emperor ought not to sacrifice the honor of his son.

son, which had been pledged to the king. It is said that Aurengzebe lost his temper, and concluded his invective with the threat of perpetual imprisonment. Sultan Mogedine, the eldest son of Mauzum, thinking all was lost, grasped his scimitar, but his father stopped his arm, saying "let us not set a pernicious example to posterity." These superior words made Aurengzebe recollect himself, affect complacence, and retain the grudge.

SECT. I
1686

He spake no more of Golcondah, but gave out that he intended to return to Delhi, and to promote the belief negotiated with Sambagi, who consented to a cessation of hostilities, intending to renew them as soon as he was gone. Even Sultan Mauzum was deceived, and prepared to lead the van of the march, of which Aurengzebe permitted him to choose the troops, who were always to be two days a-head of the emperor, with whom Sultan Mauzum continued, waiting his ultimate orders, whilst the van was halting at their first stage. Coming as usual to the public audience, Aurengzebe made a sign with his hand that he should wait in one of the adjacent rooms, and soon after directed Sultan Mogedine thither likewise, where they were both arrested by the captain of the body guard, and conveyed on elephants to different castles, the second son was sent to another but all three were treated with indulgences and respect. The two other sons and a daughter, being infants, Aurengzebe took into his own family, and treated them with as much affection as if he had no quarrel with their father.

The

1686
• 82

The intention of returning to Delhi was still held out. The road from Viziapore by Calberga was as near as any other. The city is fortified and contains the most celebrated mosque in the Ocean with the tomb of a saint of equal veneration. Aurengzebe requested the King of Golcondah's permission to pray at these shrines and the king, with the utmost refinement of oriental homage, sent him 500 000 gold mohurs to distribute in charity which produced none to himself for Aurengzebe as soon as he had performed his religious devotions, advanced from Calberga with all his banners towards Golcondah, and sent his son Sultan Azam to bring supplies of treasure, stores, troops, and artillery from Delhi and Agra.

The army of Golcondah again under the command of Rustum Roy, advanced to succour the defence of the strong holds, which the Mogul's army could not leave behind them untaken. But Aurengzebe committed the conduct of the war to the revolted general Ibrahim Khan whose former influence in the kingdom operated more efficaciously than his military exertions, and continually produced defections. We find no pitched battles, but skirmishes must have passed before the king and his general shut themselves up again in the fortress of Golcondah, which the Mogul's army invested in the month of January. Aurengzebe took the conduct of the siege, and fixed his own quarters in the city of Hyderabad.

The lower defences of Golcondah are six miles in circumference above them is another circuit of much greater resist-

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ance, fashioned in some parts out of the native rock. We have little account of the siege, but according to Manouchi, who was there, the Mogul's army was obliged to raise and carry on a vast mound of earth, sufficient for the display of several batteries, until the assailants and defenders were brought to the brunt of standing fight on the same level. In April the besieged made a sally, by which they got possession of the mound, and maintained it until they had ruined the batteries, with all the artillery, and part of the mound itself. This destruction was not quite repaired before the rains began in June, which gave a farther respite. In August Sultan Azum arrived with the supplies he had been sent to bring, when Aurengzebe committed the continuance of the siege to his conduct, and retired to a distant encampment. In the mean time the garrison had received no supplies of provisions, stores, or men, to replace what had been consumed, nor expected any, but still determined to stand the assault at the breach, which Sultan Azum avoided by purchasing the treachery of two or three of the principal officers, with whom he concerted an attack on their guard in the night, when they agreed to abandon the defence, and kept their promise. It was on the twenty-seventh of September* The garrison, although surprised, made resistance, but could not prevent numbers from pouring in sufficient to overwhelm them all, when the slaughter became desperate. The king concealed himself in the

SECT.
I
1687

n 83

* Havart in Golcondah p 232 says, that the fortres was taken on the second of October 1687.

SECR
I
1687 meanest office of his palace from whence he was dragged unknown, and had well nigh been killed in the mistake. In the morning he was carried to Sultan Azim who suffered him to continue standing several hours in the sun waiting admittance but relenting when he saw him permitted him to sit and the King in making his obeisance for the indulgence presented him with a purse full of diamonds, of which one was second only to that which Emir Juulab at his death, had sent to Aurengzebe by the hands of his son Sultan Azim still more moved by this present promised his intercession with his father to whom he delayed not to send the king but Aurengzebe received him with the most contumelious indig nity it is even asserted that he afterwards inflicted the scourge to extort the discovery of his treasures.

It has lately been said that Eccogi the brother of Sevngi holding a command in Vizapore, came with his troops some time after the reduction of this kingdom to Gingee from whence he went with them to the assistance of the Daug of Tanjore at war with her of Trichinopoly whom having defeated Eccogi seized the government he had been called to defend We formerly placed this revolution in 1680 and although we see cause to retract this date cannot ascertain the real but discover Eccogi ruling in Tanjore, in the month of August of this year 1697

As soon as Aurengzebe turned his arms against Golcondah, Sambagi saw the impending danger to his own country of Gingee and broke the truce he had just concluded with the Mogul,

Mogul, who, not suspecting this presumption, had claimed the districts, and forts of Viziapore of then adequate defence, in order to increase his strength against Golcondah, which he had scarcely invested, as we have said in January, when Sambagi, from Satarah, Pannela, and Pondah, attacked the western frontiers of Viziapore with uninterrupted success, which continued until the rains in June, when he sent off twelve thousand horse to Gingee, under two commanders, the one named Keisswa Puntolo, the other Santogi Row, but suspecting that Haig Rajah, who had governed the country ever since the conquest of Sevagi, might sell it and himself to the Mogul, he gave Keisswa Puntolo a secret instruction to seize on Haig, and get possession of the fortresses of Gingee. These troops arrived in the Carnatic in July, where at this season there are no rains, although prevailing in the country to the westward. Their march alarmed Aurengzebe, lest they should make conquests in the country of Mysore, which he intended to reduce, when free from more important war, and on this supposition he detached an army from the siege of Golcondah, which, marching west of the Carnatic mountains, invested Bengaloor, before the Morattoe generals had concerted their measures for the same attack, who continued debating, and the new ones collecting offerings, but Haig Rajah, having received intimation of Sambagi's intention against himself, effectually secured Gingee under his own ward and dependence; and Keisswa Puntolo, disappointed in his scheme, treated him as if he never had had any, with much exterior respect.

Sectr
I
1687.

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respect. The three generals agreed to march to the relief of Bengalore but on the way heard that the place had surrendered to the Mogul's army. This happened in the beginning of August and at the same time came news that Aurengzebe on advices of disturbances in the northern parts of the empire was compromising his dispute with the king of Golcondah, and intended to proceed to Delhi. This intelligence although false removed the apprehension of any immediate invasion of the Gingee country and Hargi Rajah confident of the attachment of his troops, lent them to Keisswa Puntolo and Santogi Row wishing likewise, for some personal reason to stay awhile in the Carnatic, also gave his division and Keisswa Puntolo with the whole, amounting to eighteen thousand horse passed into the Mysore country.

The strength of Golcondah and the despairing resolution of the king had raised expectations of a much longer defence, for treachery had not been suspected so that the fall spread the astonishment of sudden ruin and most of the officers in those countries which had not already submitted pressed forward to make terms for themselves and Aurengzebe to comfort them with hopes of indulgence appointed their old acquaintance Ibrahim Khan, to act as his vicegerent in all affairs of the kingdom.

Six thousand horse were sent under the command of Oosser Khan to take in the maritime provinces from Masulipatam to Ganjam. Masulipatam made no resistance, having been lately ravaged by a grievous pestilence and left by the governor

vernor, who had retired with his treasures, and the detestation of his people, but much remained to do, before the countries beyond the Godaveri could be reduced to regular obedience. That portion of the Carnatic which belonged to Golcondah was under the government of a Nabob, who kept his court at Cudapah his name was Ally Ascar Cawn, he had always borne good will to the English at Madras, and was the first to inform them that he was continued in his station by the Mogul Advices of the same purport came from the neighbouring governors of Conjeveram and Punamalee, who were both gentoos. He of Punamalee said, that as the world turned round like a wheel, he had beaten his drums, and fired his guns, for the victory which the mighty Alumghire* had gained over his old master So that nothing appeared to contest the Mogul's authority in this extensive space of country, which three weeks before acknowledged another king But this tranquillity was of short duration

The Mogul's troops having taken Bengalore were reinforced before Keisswa Puntolo arrived in Mysore, and marched against him, who nevertheless maintained himself on the other side of the mountains until November, when he returned into the Carnatic, and arrived about the 10th at Trinomalee We are ignorant whether defeat or his own choice occasioned this retreat, but are not inclined to impute it to necessity, for such a body of Morattoe horse might, with their facility of avoiding encounter, have continued long in such a country as Mysore,

* Name of Aurengzebe.

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SECT.
I
1687-

SECT unless impaired by some signal overthrow of which we find no mention

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1687; On his return the grudge between him and Hargi Rajah broke out openly the surrender of Gingee to the orders of Sambagi was publicly demanded and refused but Hargi, fearing that respect to his sovereign might at length predominate amongst the troops of his own command secured the fort of Thivenapatam near Cudalore as a retreat on emergency; but to keep up their attachment to himself by an exertion of national loyalty and the hope of plunder, he summoned Keisswa Puntolo to march and reduce the countries to the north of the Paliar, which had just submitted to the Mogul Keisswa Puntolo seems to have refused any connexion with him, on which Hargi sent forward a detachment under the command of two officers, in whom he had special trust who met with no resistance of any consequence from the new converts to the Mogul government, and in a fortnight were in quiet possession of Arcot, Conjeevaram, and Panamalec, with their districts of which they sat about collecting the revenues, favoured by the season for it was the end of December

In the mean time Sambagi insufficiently opposed in Viziapore had reduced all the country extending south of Panvela, amongst the mountains which advance beyond the gauts to the westward where, the record says he had taken one hundred and twenty places of note by the end of the year He not only aggravated his war against the Moguls, with every species of barbarity but even poisoned the fair tanks of water

near which they might be tempted to encamp. Policy alone
lest no doubt of the preference between the conquest of the
original and sovereign power, and the reduction of its depen-
dancy in the Carnatic, but indignation likewise prompted this
resolution, and Aurengzebe, who rarely discovered his emo-
tions when extreme, swore that he would never return to Delhi
until he had seen the head of Sambagi weltering at his feet.

SICR.
I
1687

Accordingly, in the beginning of January, 1688, he issued
orders for the march of his army and Omrah's to Viziapore,
but not willing to trust Ibrahim Khan during his absence with
the government of the kingdom he had betrayed, sent him, but
honourably, to govern the province of Lahore, and ap-
pointed his ancient servant, Rohilla Cawn, to Golcondah.
Aurengzebe led the two captive kings in his train, and re-
ceived their daily obeisance at the hour of his public appear-
ance, as if delighted with the contemplation of their mutual
anguish and his own pre-eminence, and determined that each
should see the vanquished capital of the other, gazing on the
fallen majesty of both.

For two months before his departure he had several times
issued and revoked orders for the march of a large detachment
to Cudapah, from whence they were to proceed with the
troops of that government to attack the Gingee country,
where the reports of their approach had kept Keisswa Puntolo,
and Santogi Row, making preparations of defence but find-
ing that no troops crossed the Kristna, although Hargi Rajah's
detachment had taken possession of the country to the north

of

SECT ¹ of the Paliar ther moved likewise and after little resistance took Chittapett and Covrepauk and about the middle of 1688 established a general and superior standard at Conjeveram which Hargis detachment if they did not obey did not oppose and both agreed in getting all they could by the plunder of the open country to which besides the propensity of usage they were prompted by the certainty that the army they had so long expected was in actual march from Golcon dah into the Carnatic.

This army was commanded by an officer named Muhomed Sadick It consisted of twelve thousand Mogul horse, but a greater number of foot which were of little efficacy as being the ordinary troops of tributary Rajahs and Polygars They arrived in the middle of February and were the first army in the service of the Moguls, which ever entered the Carnatic

The Morattoes left Conjeveram on their approach, and retired to their nearest forts on each side of the Paliar The Mogul general made it his first care to put strong garrisons into Punamalee and Vandivashi which the Morattoes had not had time to reduce, and soon after encamped under Vandivashi with the main body of his army but kept detachments abroad with the ostensible purpose of opposing the depredations of the Morattoes instead of which these detachments merely restrained from committing the same excesses themselves Multitudes were continually flocking to the protection of Madras, of which the Moguls and the Morattoe generals complained and demanded the surrender of such as carried away any thing

of value; not without accusing the English government of partiality: and offence to either side was dangerous, for the Mogul's troops were often at the gates of Madras, whose factories of Cudalore and Commer, in the Gingee country, were exposed to the insults of Morattoe detachments, and the company's instrument, widely disused, to the plunder of both

srcr
I
1688

The Morattoe generals, to oppose the Mogul encampment at Vandivash, kept the main of their army at Chittapett, within a day's march, but neither did more than observe the other, for, excepting a few accidental skirmishes between plundering parties, the year passed without any enterprise of hostility, but the country was defoliated

Aurengzebe continued throughout this year in the city of Viziapore, superintending with the utmost attention the war against Sambagi. The numbers and artillery of the Mogul's army recovered all the towns and forts in the upper country, which Sambagi had reduced whilst they were employed against Golcondah, but his holds on hills and mountains were impugnable, and all that could be done against them was, to station troops in such of the neighbouring situations as might best repel the garrisons above from descending to plunder in the plain, who, from their back country and the gauts, were supplied, when necessary, by secreted parties, with provisions. Even Pannela, which Sambagi made his own retreat and capital during this war, was continually invested, but with

SECT
I
1689 no prospect of surrender at the end of the year, when Au
rengzebe convinced of the improbability of getting Sambagi
into his power by dint of open hostility recurred to other
means

85. That propensity to women which the wisdom of his father
Sivaji seems to have early foreseen as the germ of Sambagi's
destruction had increased with his manhood and power. It
wasted not his time in the allurements of dalliance, but his
variety was insatiable and every beauty he heard of became
the object of his acquisition, in despite of all parental and
religious resentment. Cablis Cawn as mentioned before, was
the procurer of his pleasures, and from this connexion gained
some share of his confidence in the affairs of his government,
without any political ability and a considerable command in
the army with very little courage. He seems by his name and
manners to have been a Mahomedan. Aurengzebe tried and
found no difficulty in tampering and succeeding with such a
character but was obliged to leave the mode to his own judg-
ment, who consulting above all other considerations, his own
security, risked no attempt on Sambagi's life by poison or
assassination but waited for some less dangerous means of
treachery which occurred in the month of June.

86. It is well known that the marriages of the Hindoos are
contracted by the parents during the earliest infancy of the
children who from that time are kept separate in their own
families, until the virgin wife arrives at the real age of nubility
when

when she is sent home with much pomp to the house of her husband. This procession is generally made in the night, accompanied by many lights, and is held sacred from all interruption. A young Hindoo of distinction, and much beauty, was to be carried to her husband, and the representation of Cablis Cawn, who pretended to have been her, easily persuaded Sambagi to seize her. He put himself at the head of a small squadron of horse, but for fear of accidents in this time of hostility, Cablis Cawn was to follow at a distance with a much larger body. We are ignorant from which of his strong holds this intemperate excursion was made, but believe from Pannela, of which the investment might have been raised by the advice of Cablis Cawn. The onset of Sambagi had scarcely dispersed the procession, when his party was attacked by a detachment of Mogul cavalry, who, apprized of his person, restrained from his life, and seized him at the unresisted risque of his sword. They then proceeded against the body with Cablis Cawn, who pretended resistance only to be taken.

Sambagi appeared before Auiengzebe with undaunted brow, who reproached Cablis Cawn, not with his treachery, but the encouragement which his prostituted ministry had given to vices which at length had led his sovereign to ruin, and ordered him to instant death. To Sambagi he proffered life, and rank in his service, if he would turn Mahomedan, who answered by an invective against the prophet, and the land of his own gods. On which he was dressed in the fan-

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I
1689

SECT I
 1689 taste ornaments of a wandering Indian devotee who beg
 in villages with a rattle and a cap with bells. In this garb he
 was tied looking backwards, upon a camel and led through
 the camp calling on all the Rajpoots he saw to kill him, but
 none dared. After the procession his tongue was cut out as
 the penalty of blaspheming Mahomed. In this forlorn con-
 dition Aurengzebe by a message, again offered to preserve his
 life if he would be converted when he wrote, "Not if you
 "would give me your daughter in marriage" on which his ex-
 ecution was ordered and performed by cutting out his heart,
 after which his limbs and body were separated and all to-
 gether were thrown to dogs prepared to devour them. Ma-
 nouchi says that Aurengzebe beheld and enjoyed the spectacle,
 which is scarcely credible. Nevertheless human nature won-
 ders at his inflexible cruelty, as much as it admires the invin-
 cible courage of Sambagi whose death produced not the
 expected effect of submission from any part of the Morattoe
 government which it only animated the more to continue the
 war. But our narrative must now resume as well as it can,
 the English concerns in the empire from the end of 1685

N O T E S

TO THE

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS,

&c

N O T E I

PLACE i, line 16 *Fragment which the want of more materials disables us from disposing into a more regular form*]—We are not without hopes that some of the many in India, who have the means, will supply the portions of information which are deficient in these Fragments, and must otherwise always continue out of our reach. The knowledge is well worth the enquiry, for, besides the magnitude of the events, and the energy of the characters, which arise within this period, there are no states or powers on the continent of India, with whom our nation have either connexion or concern, who do not owe the origin of their present condition to the reign of Aurangzebe, or to its influence on the reigns of his successors.

S R C T.
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N O T E

NOTE II

Page 4, line 21 *The enquiries of Europeans have not hitherto procured any history of Aurengzebe composed by a native of Indostan which extends beyond the 13th year of his reign answering to 1671 of our era*]—The following accounts relating to the reign of Aurengzebe have been brought to Europe, and we have acquired no information of any others. We give the titles as published by those who procured the manuscripts.

I. "ALUNGUIRANA by Munshi Mahomed Kazm ben Mahomed Amin Munshi containing the history of India and Aurengzebe, from Sultan Darah Sheckowli's first confining his father Shah Jehan until the 13th year of Aurengzebe's reign wherein is a full account of the means he used to cut off his brothers, and secure the empire to himself"—This book belonged to Mr Frazer, and, with the whole collection he brought from India, is in the Radcliffe library but there is a mistake in the title, although given by Mr Frazer himself for the history does not extend beyond the 10th year of Aurengzebe's reign

II. "KELMAT TYBAT all the remarkable sayings (or bon mots) of the great Mogul Aurengzebe with copies of all the letters, notes, &c. he wrote himself This book likewise belonged to Mr Frazer, and is in the Radcliffe library The letters and notes have no dates, either of time or place.

The

*The four following manuscripts, III. IV. V. VI.
belonged to Mr. Dow*

Sect.

I

III. " *MIRAT UL WARDAT*, or the Mirror of Occurrences,
" written by Mahomed Shushri of Delhi. He undertook the
" work at the request of Byram Chan, in the reign of Maho-
" med Shah. He professes the book to be a continuation of
" the work of Ferishta, and it contains a compendious history
" of the Mogul empire, from the death of Acaar to the inva-
" sion of Nadir Shah." The whole life of Aurengzebe must
therefore be in this history since it comes down to the reign of
his great grandson, but we suppose very succinctly, since Mr.
Dow himself has not continued the life of Aurengzebe beyond
the year 1669, the 11th of his reign.

IV. " *KOSI NAMMA*, or a Journal of the first ten years of
" Aurengzebe, by *Muza Cafim*, the son of *Muza Amm*, pri-
" vate secretary to Aurengzebe. Our author (*Mirza Cafim*)
" succeeded his father in that office."

V. " *ALUMGUER NAMMA*, or the History of Allumgire or
" Aurengzebe, by the same. This work is little more than an
" abridgment of the above." It is then the same as the
ALUMGUERNAMA of Mr. Frazer, n° 1 who calls *Muza Cafim*,
Mahomed Kazm.

VI. " *MIRAT ATTUM*, or the Mirror of the World, by
" Nazir Buchtar Chan, a man of letters, who led a private
" life near Feridabad, within a few miles of Agra. This work
" contains the history of the first ten years of Aurengzebe"

VII. " *NOBA-*

SECT VII ' NOBATAH MOUKIA or Splendid Intelligence
I " being letters of Aurengzéb to his vizirs, governors of provinces, &c." This manuscript in 12° was brought by Mr Anquetil du Perron from India and deposited by him in the king's library at Paris. We are ignorant what lights it might afford to the history of Aurengzéb

N O T E III

Page 4 line 24 Mr FRASÉK says,—that he (Aurengzéb) forbade his life to be written]—Mr Frazer does not say this in his Nadir Shah but it is mentioned in a note by the authors of the Universal History with whom it is probable that Mr Frazer was acquainted

N O T E IV

Page 4 line 25 CATROU]—The Jesuit, known by other works, wrote the History of the Mogul Emperor, from the memoirs of MANOUCHI who had been physician to Sultan Mourum. We find Manouchi at Madras in the year 1691 but Catrou says, that the memoirs which he received from him came down to the year 1700. Mr Anquetil du Perron in his Legislation Orientale published in 1778 says that he saw the manuscript of Manouchi in the year 1763, in the library of the Jesuits of the Maison PROFE à. We are informed

informed that this manuscript was not inserted in the catalogue of the sale, when the effects of the Jesuits were confiscated in 1773, nor had it been reserved for the king's library. It is supposed to have been carried into Holland, and is well worth recovering

S E C T.

I.

The 3d and 4th volumes of Catrou's history, comprise a general view of the whole reign of Aurengzebe, and the only one within the reach of those who are not versant in the Persic. not that we know that any such exists even in this language. The style of Catrou is esteemed elegant, he gives several striking narrations, but seems to have despised much attention to chronological arrangement, and some of the few dates he gives are erroneous. We have taken largely from this work.

N O T E V

Page 5, line 3 “*Is a shameless apology for the deposal, &c. &c*”]—The condition of the writer, composing under the terror of Aurengzebe's inspection and displeasure, accounts for this panegyric Mr. Boughton Rouse,* with that respect to letters which always distinguisheth those who are capable of cultivating them with success, has on all occasions supplied us with the informations which his knowledge could furnish to our ignorance of the Persic language. he read in this view two hundred pages of the ALUMGUIRNAM, and gave us the character we have given of this work, which is very voluminous

* Nor Sir C W Rouse, Bart See Life, page xlvi.

SECT.

I

NOTE VI

Page 5, line 21 "Aurengzebe held this government under his father]—Aurengzebe having behaved with great intrepidity in separating two elephants who were fighting, his father Shah Jehan took great affection to him created him ten hazari * and gave him the government of the Deccan, for which he departed in June 1653"

"In this year (1653) Mauhabat Cawn takes Doulatabad from which Sidi Amber who was governor of it took flight. This seems to have been before the first coming of Aurengzebe into the Deccan."

"Aurengzebe reduced all the rebels there, was recalled to court and returned thither with Mauhabat Cawn at the end of the year 1654"

"Towards the end of this year (1654) we believe, Shah Jehan takes the road to Doulatabad"

"In 1655 Saow (the father of Seragi) a powerful Zemindar, having got possession of the estates of the children of Nuzam-al-muluck, Shah Jehan drove him out of them and his generals took the greatest part of the fortresses of the country"

"After reducing Bundelcund and its Rajah, Aurengzebe appears again in the Deccan in 1657, made the conquest of the country of Bagland Bardge, Rajah of the country having submitted to the prince was made three hazari † and had

Commander of ten thousand horse † Commander of three thousand horse

Sultanspur

Sultanpoum in Jaglure Rammagun was likewise given to him, on the terms of paying a tribute of 100,000 R"

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" 1639 Kaloundgi, Rajah in the territories of Nizamal-muluck, after having submitted to Aurengzebe, and revolted, perished in his rebellion "

" 1649 Morad Buksh, who had been recalled from Balk in 1646, is in this year recalled from the D^ec^an, and these four provinces are given to Chaest Khan "

" In 1651 Aurengzebe marched to besiege Candahar, in 1652 he raised the siege, was recalled from Cabul, and sent to the D^ec^an "

" In 1654 Aurengzebe, by his lieutenants, forced the Rajah of Deoughnⁱ to pay tribute " *

N O T E VII.

Page 6, line 7 *SPVAGI was the founder of the Morattoc nation]*—The relations of all the travellers who were on the western side of India during his life, after it became an object of fame, speak more or less of his exploits We shall enumerate the accounts in which we have found any information concerning him

I. TAVERNIER was in India at various intervals from 1642 to 1666 he journied through most of the provinces of the

* From M Gentil's MS in French, in the possession of the author at the time the above note was written, but now in the library of the Honourable the East India Company, with the rest of Mr Orme's original manuscripts See note 49

SECT
I empire, and in more directions than any other traveller. He tells although very succinctly the origin of SEVAOIS fortune, and mentions him transiently on another occasion.

II DERNIER well known he arrived at Surat in 1655 and left India at the latest, in 1667. He speaks of SEVAOI as an adventurous chieftain emerging into notice.

III THEVENOT not Melchizedec, but his nephew who, as well as he, had received a liberal education. He travelled to acquire knowledge and after visiting Constantinople, went into Egypt and Syria. In this voyage he employed four years, from May 1655 to April 1659. After his return to France he devoted four years more to such studies as might improve his discernment and then set out for Persia and India. He arrived at Surat from Bussorah, on the 6th of November 1663 and immediately went to Ahmedabad and Canibay. He then travelled across the peninsula from Surat to Masulipatnam by Aurengabad and Golcondah returned by Golcondah Beder Patri and Brampore and embarked from Surat for Persia in February 1667 so that the whole of his continuance in India did not exceed fifteen months. He died on the 6th November of the same year at the town of Miana * in Persia, to the great loss of cosmographical knowledge since the posthumous publication of his journal and observations in

Miana petite ville située dans un lieu marécageux & où on paye un droit pour la garde des bœufs. C'est où mourut Monsieur Thevenot en revenant d'Ispahan. Il avoit ramassé plusieurs livres Persans et Arabes et le Cod de Miana retient des mélancolies." Tarteret

India are deprived of many additions and explanations which he had entrusted to his memory. Nevertheless, no relation of this country contains so much and such valuable intelligence, acquired in so short a time, or comprised in less extent of writing. We imagine that he was assisted by the Capuchins of Surat, who have always been attentive to the affairs of the empire, for the sake of their religion and the scribe whom Thevenot hired was conversant with good authorities. He treats of SEVAGI to the year 1664, with better information, according to our judgment, than any of the other travellers, and every other mention which he accidentally makes of him affords some light to be relied on, and worthy of attention.

SECT

I

IV CARRÍ accompanied the French director-general Carron, and arrived at Surat in 1668, from whence he was dispatched with the letters of Mr Carron to the minister Colbert, in February 1671. He passed through Arabia, and arrived in France in the October following. He was dispatched back to Surat in 1672, and from hence was sent by Mr Carron, with advices to Monsieur de la Haye, besieged in San Thomé, but from the superiority of the Dutch in these seas, proceeded across the continent, going first to Daman, and then to Chaul, from whence to Upper Chaul, where he was treated with much civility by SEVAGI's officer, and received his pass, which carried him, without hindrance, to the city of Viziapore, where we find him in January 1673. Here he fell ill, and says nothing more of his journey, but it ap-

pears

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pears from the journal of Monsieur de la Haye that he arrived at San Thomé on the 26th of April

Carré published two small volumes of what he heard and saw in his travels, with very careless arrangement little attention to dates, and many stories, of which the only one of any importance is a history of SEVAGI divided into two portions one in each volume. All he says in the first which relates only to the outset of SEVAGI's fortune, is either erroneous or too confused to be reduced to order but the second part affords better information, although only concerning his operations in the years 1671 and 1672. He admires SEVAGI's character with enthusiasm compares him to Gustavus Adolphus and Julius Cæsar and ascribes to him all the qualities of a consummate hero and sovereign

V DELLOU the physician sailed from France in March 1668 and after some employment at the settlements on Madagascar and Bourbon arrived at Surat in September 1669 from whence he sailed in the beginning of 1670 with the orders to remove the French factory at Beliapatam to Tellicherry where they established a house in the month of June. This was several years before the English settled there. In the way the ship stopped at Rajapore and Mirzou where the French company had likewise factories. From Tellicherry Dellen was occasionally employed in their concerns of trade at Calicut Tanore and Chaly and incidentally saw Bergerah and Cognally which lie between Calicut and Tellicherry. In the

SECT
I

the month of June 1671, Flacour, the French agent, went from hence to settle a trade at Scringapatam, the capital of Mysoor Dellen intending to accompany him, went as far as the foot of the mountains, but was deterred there by the excessive violence of the torrents, and came back Flacour persisted, and returned from Scringapatam in November In January 1672, Dellen sailed from Tellicherry on his return to Surat the ships stopped at Mangalore, at Muzeou, from whence they withdrew the factory, at Goa, Atchara, and Rajapore, and arrived at Surat in the middle of March From hence he sailed in November in a ship of force, sent to convoy home another of value from Gombroon The two were met in their return, off Diu, by four which were cruising for them, and all together put into Bombay in January 1673, from whence they arrived at Surat in the beginning of February In March Dellen travelled by land to Daman, where he remained exercising his profession until the end of the year On the first of January 1674 he sailed from Daman, and having touched at Bassin, arrived at Goa on the 14th In this city he continued two years, and sailed for Lisbon and France in January 1676

Dellen directed his observations principally to the manners and customs of the people he saw, and to the nature of the country, he, however, gives some account of their princes, and mentions SLEVAGI oftener than any other, with whom the interests of his voyage had so little concern but says nothing

of

SECT
I of him where he must have heard much, during his residence at Goa. His voyage is curious and esteemed

VI DE GRAAF the surgeon made six voyages to the East Indies, in the service of the Dutch company. His first outset from Holland was in the year 1640 his last return in 1687 a period of remarkable length in such wearisome employment. In each voyage he was detained several years abroad and sent to different parts, where the Dutch had concerns or settlements, and seems to have been at them all. He gives much and various information. The first mention he makes of SEVAGI is where it might be least expected when he was travelling in Bengal but what he says of him there has assisted our narrative when nearer the operations of SEVAOI, he mentions him only once.

VII JOURNAL du voyage des grands Index, contenant tout ce qui s'y est fait et passé par l'escadre de sa Majesté envoyée sous le commandement de MONSE DE LA HAYE depuis son départ de la Rochelle au mois de Mars 1670 Monsieur de la Haye was detained by attentions at Madagascar and the isles of Bourbon and Mauritius, where the French had settlements, and did not arrive at Surat until October 1671 After much trouble and opposition from the Dutch fleet in his attempt to form an establishment in the bay of Trincomalee he sailed to the coast of Coromandel and took San Thonil by assault on the 25th of July 1672 The place, at this time belonged to the King of Golcondah, against whose forces finally

assisted by the Dutch, Mr De la Haye defended it with the utmost gallantry for more than two years, until the 5th of September 1674 SEVAGI, as we shall see, profited of this diversion of the forces of Golcondah

SECT
I

VIII RELATION *ou journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales, &c* Paris, 1677, 12° in the Saint John Baptist, which arrived at Surat on the 26th October 1671, and sailed in January 1672, with Mr De la Haye's squadron, to Trincomalee, where the writer was taken by the Dutch in May, and carried to Bengal, and the prisons of Batavia He speaks of SEVAGI, but with little intelligence, calling him a relation of the Great Mogul and we only mention this journal, to prevent the expectation of any thing material in it.

IX FRYER, the physician, sailed from England on the 9th of December 1672, arrived on the coast of Coromandel in June, and from hence at Bombay in December 1673 In September 1674 he went to Surat, and returned to Bombay in April 1675 in May he travelled to Jenneah Gui, and after the rains in October sailed from Bombay for Caiwar, and went from hence to Goa in December In the beginning of 1676 he went to Vingorlah, then to Gocurn, in the Carnatic country, and having passed the rains of this year at Carwai, went again to Goa in October, and from hence arrived in December at Surat In February 1677 he sailed from Surat for Gombroon, and continued in Persia until the 30th of November 1678, when he embarked on his return, and arrived at Surat on the

SECRET 6th of January 1679 where he seems to have continued until
I he sailed for England in January 1681

The English concerns from Surat to Carwar were often affected by the operations of **SEVACI** whilst Fryer continued in India who accordingly learnt much concerning him ; but wanted leisure to digest his informations into a regular narrative which it is impossible now to do since his mentions of **SEVACI** although very frequent are generally interwoven with other subjects, and without dates Nevertheless, our attention to what Fryer says of him first led us to discover that **SEVACI** was the founder of the present nation of **MORATTOES**, for at that time we had not seen Catrou nor consulted the **UNIVERSAL HISTORY** and divisions as well as misfortunes in the lineage seem to have confounded this knowledge, even in the apprehension of the Europeans residing in India ever since the beginning of the present century nor do the contemporary travellers or records ever call the people or armies which **SEVACI** governed or commanded **MORATTOES** they are always called *Seragees* as a people or the troops of **SEVACI**

X HISTOIRE de SEVACI et de son successeur Nourzeaux Conquerans dans l' Inde by Pere D Orleans, Jesuit added to his *Histoire des deux Conquerans Tartares qui ont subjugué la Chine* Paris, 1688 &c This account, which is very short is composed from one written at Goa. It does not give a single date and only a few facts, without precision and little known

known before What he says of Sambagi was at the time less known, but is very imperfect

SECT.

I

MANOUCHI, sufficiently mentioned before under CATROU,
Note III MANOUCHI accompanied Sultan Mauzum in all his campaigns against SIVAGI, concerning whom he has furnished CATROU with more information than is to be found in any other writer

These are all the accounts cotemporary with the life of SEVAGI, which have come to our knowledge, and he is mentioned in them all We have examined two others which are of modern date

XI " HISTORY OF INDOORAN, from the death of AKBAR to
" the complete settlement of the empire under AURANGZEB
" To which are prefixed, &c By ALEXANDER Dow, Esq,
" Lieutenant Colonel in the Company's service London 1772"
in quarto This work is intended as a continuation of Ferishta's history, of which Mr Dow had before published a translation Mr Dow gives the following account of the means and materials which enabled him to compose this continuation " That on the author of this volume derives by far the greatest part of his facts from Eastern writers, he has not overlooked the interrupted glimpses of the transactions in the Mogul empire, preserved by intelligent Europeans, who travelled the last century into India He relies upon their authority with regard to what they had seen He prefers the accounts of domestic writers to what they

“ only heard. He draws his informations chiefly from the following authors and the originals are at this moment in “ his hands ” They are enumerated and are six histories in the Persic language. The Persic historians in general as Mahomedans, are not very curious or exact in their accounts of the Hindoos or Europeans Accordingly the first mention which Mr Dow makes of SEVADJ is in the year 1661 when he styles him Sewâjî prince of Cokin or Concan and this part of his story continues to the year 1663 It is resumed in 1665 and 1666 again in 1667 after which nothing more is said of him although SEVADJ had much concern in an event which Mr Dow places in the year 1668 who does not continue the reign of Aurengzebo beyond the year 1669

xiii “ A short historical Narrative of the rise and rapid advancement of the MARATHA STATE to the present strength and consequence it has acquired in the East Written originally in Persian and translated into English by an Officer in the East India Company’s service London 1-80 ” Octavo The author is Mr Alexander Kerr who, studying the Persic language translated for his improvement this tract composed under his own inspection from Persian Manuscripts, by the scribe whom he employed to teach him The intention was merititious, and will probably induce Mr Kerr to make further enquiries when he returns to India Mr Kerr says the Persian manuscripts ‘are the only historical guide to this

“ subject, since the MAURATTAHS themselves (as far as I have been able to find out) have no such of their own” “ Oral tradition, and the best received accounts of the more recent times, supplied the rest” Mr Kerr’s account traces an independant MAURATTAH principality, existing in the Deccan as far back as two hundred years from the present time We had compiled all we now say of SEVAGI, and after him, of the Morattoes, until the year 1659, before Mr Kerr’s work was published, and have changed nothing in consequence, but rest on our own enquiries.

Besides the publications we have enumerated, we have gained information concerning SEVAGI, and of events to a later period concerning the early times of the Morattoes, from cotemporary records belonging to the East India company The earliest which mentions SEVAGI is of the year 1671 Could we have discovered the whole series with the collateral branches of correspondence, from the year 1650, the FRAGMENTS we now publish would have acquired some authentic additions, but the labour would have exceeded the conception of any of our readers, excepting the keeper of the records at the India-house

NOTE VIII.

Page 6, line 8 *He (SEVAGI) drew his lineage from the Rajahs of Chitor, who boast their descent from Porus, and are esteemed the most ancient establishment of Hindoo princes, and the*

~~sect L~~ *the noblest of the Rajpoot tribes]* This descent from Parus is mentioned by Sir Thomas Roe, Bernier Thevenot—but the ~~AIJIN ACBARI~~ which is a general description of the empire, compiled by the order of Acbar under the inspection of his learned general Abdul Fazel, makes the Rajahs of Chitros descend from Nonschirvan the king of Persia the same as Cosroes who warred so long with Justinian, and after a reign of forty-eight years, died in 570 A very strange genealogy of a Hindoo and Rajpoot Rajah for Cosroes was of the religion of Zoroaster or the worshippers of fire 'who although confined to many abstinences, were not restrained from eating beef'

NOTE IX

Page 7 line 5 *Stabbed him with his own hand by a device which, if practicable could not be suspected]*—Thus described by Catrou “Il fit attacher un bistouri des mieux aiguisez à une bague qu'il portoit au doigt. Le bistouri tournoit “ aisement autour de la bague et pour lors il étoit caché dans l'ombre de sa main”

NOTE X

Page 7 line 20 *Pannela was one of the strongest fortresses in the Concan towards the capital of Vī sapore]*—This place is as often spelt Parnela. Mr D'Anville, in whom Europe has lately

lately lost the first geographer of the world,* has a *Parnel*, twenty miles to the north-west of Ahmednagur, but this situation does not agree with the molestations to which Vizia pore was exposed from our Pannela, because Ahmednagur, a capital city, and a frontier place of arms belonging to the Mogul, lay between And this reason excludes the Parnel, which arises in our map of the Decan, and is still farther distant in the same direction At length we discovered a better approximation in a manuscript account of the Decan, procured for the assistance of our labouris, with several other valuable documents,† by our ancient and very intelligent friend, General Richard Smith, whilst commanding the army in Bengal. The manuscript seems to have been composed from the archives of the Decan, at some time between the years 1750 and 1755 It divides the Decan into six *subahs* or provinces, the *subahs* into their *circars*, or governments, the *circars* into then *pun-gunnahs*, or districts Places of note are occasionally described, and some with particular circumstances The revenues, as rated in the king's books, are mentioned, excepting in the circars under the SUBAH of VIZIAPORE One of the circars of this subah is thus described

“ CIRCAR OF NABICHADOUROUK

“ It is likewise called PARNALA It contains nine pur-
“ gunnahs

* Mr D'Anville died at Paris, on the 28th of January 1782, aged 80 years

† Now in the library of the Honourable the East India Company

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SECT

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"The adjacencies or environs of Parnala Darkehay
 "Sarala, Mapatan, Azamara Mandal, Tchitpet Koundelgora
 "Matora

These purgannahs have (villages, the number not men-
 tioned) which give (rupees the sum not mentioned).

To the east of this circuit the purgannahs of Raibaug
 "and the circuit of Mergede to the north, the fortresses of
 "Djoumer to the west the defiles of Concan and the circuit
 "of Moustaphabad (which is Dabul) and a part of the circuit
 "of Aamnagur

"The Krishna enters this circuit from the defile of the
 "mountains, with the river of Malvanar which it joins,
 "and afterwards goes into the purgannahs of Satara
 "to the east of which are springs, which flow into the
 Pourna which river goes to the south and afterwards
 joins the Krishna.

It is evident from this account, that PARNALA is the capital
 of the circuit of VABICNANOUROUK. Raibaug and Mergede
 are cities which Mr. D'Anville has adjusted in the road from
 Lopore to Dabul on the sea which standing northward of
 Satara placeth the circuit of Parnala on the eastern side
 of the gauts behind Dabul from which it extends north-
 west and south-east towards Mergede and Raibaug. Although
 this does not ascertain no other account that we have seen
 suggests the least guess whereabouts the fortress of Parnala is
 situated

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SFCT

I

NOTE XI

Page 11, line 1. CHAEST KHAN, *the subah of the conquered territories in the Deccan, and uncle to the emperor by marriage*] CHAEST KHAN is perhaps more properly called *Shayla Cawn*, by Mr Dow, from whom we shall endeavour to trace his family

Aiafs, a Tartar, had relations in the court of Acbar, and having nothing of his own, but his abilities, travelled in quest of fortune to Delhi, accompanied only by his wife, who was delivered in the desert of a daughter, which, for want of means to carry her on, he exposed, but, relenting at the agonies of the mother, returned just in time to rescue the infant from the jaws of a serpent. Their wants were soon after relieved by other travellers.

The talents of Aiafs raised him, through a succession of employments in the reign of Acbar, to the office of treasurer of the empire, with the title of *Actimâd ul Dowlah*. In the mean time his daughter of the desert became the first of women, in beauty, accomplishments, and allurements. Schim, who succeeded his father Acbar, with the name of Jehangire, saw her, and was captivated, but she was already betrothed, and Acbar, from religious justice, would not suffer the bonds to be broken. She was accordingly married to Shere Afkun, whom Jehangire, when in possession of the throne, procured,

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after several attempts, to be murdered when his wife, Mher ul Nissa was sent to the emperor's seraglio which had been the object of her ambition ever since she first unveiled herself to his sight. But, according to the story she continued long there in disappointment for Jehangire it is said restrained from seeing her for four years, during which he had struggled with his passion to no purpose for the first interview vanquished all his resolution and the very next day he issued orders for the celebration of their nuptials when her name of Mher ul Nissa, or the sun of women was changed to Noor Mahul * the light of the seraglio and afterwards to Noor Jehan or light of the world. Her power over Jehangire was absolute to the end of his life. For a while she held the government of Guzerat with the title of subah during which rupees were struck at Ahmedabad with this inscription " In the 13th of A.C. 62. the installation 1028 of the Hegira, Noor Jehan, wife of the king Jehangire, son of the king Acbar being governess of Ahmedabad It was likewise during this government as we believe, that she struck gold rupees, or mohurs, with this not inelegant legend ! " By order of the King Jehangire. " Gold has acquired a hundred degrees of excellence, in receiving the name of Noor Jehan." †

* See Establishment of the English Trade at Surat, now first published in this volume

† The mention of these two coinages is taken from Mr. Anquetil du Perron, vol. 1 part 2 pages 624, 625, and 626

Her family partook of her fortune. Jehangire, on his marriage, created her father Aghmad ul Dowlah, vizir of the empire and raised his two sons, Achmed Chan and Asiph Jah, to high honours. Of the first we find nothing, but Asiph Jah,¹ on the death of his father in 1618, succeeded to the office of vizir and Jehangire permitted his own son, Sultan Cunom, who succeeded to the throne with the name of Shah Jahan, to marry his daughter, Mumlaza Zemam, which signifies the most exalted of the age, besides whom Asiph Jah had four sons: *Chasif Khan* (the occasion of this note) who before was called Mirza Morad; Mirza Misri, who was drowned in a drunken frolic in the river Behat, in Cashmire; Muza Hossein, of moderate abilities, and little note; Shânavaze Khan who rose to much reputation and distinction.

Thus *Chasif Khan* was the nephew of the empress Noor Jehan, and by the marriage of his own sister with Shah Jahan, became the maternal uncle of ~~AMENGZEB~~, and of his brothers Darib, Sujah, and Morad. He moreover acquired the relation of uncle by alliance to Amengzeh and Morad, by their marriage with his nieces, the daughters of his brother Shânavaze Khan. No private family ever made such alliances with royal blood, as this of the Tartar Aias, afterwards Aghmad ul Dowlah; for his own daughter, his son's, and the daughter of his grandson, were married to three successive emperors of Indostan, and another daughter of his grandson, to Morad, who disputed, and for some days thought himself in

SECRET possession of the throne. The emperor Shah Jehan respected the virtues of the daughter of Asiph Jah, as much as his father Jehangire had been infatuated by the charms of the daughter of Asimad ul Dowlab and raised a sepulchre at Agra to the memory of Mumlaaz Zeman; which is said to have cost the enormous sum of 750 000 pounds *

In 1658 Chaeft Khan was appointed by Shah Jehan to the government of Berar and in 1659 to the more important command of Guzerat. In 1656 he was employed by Aurengzebe, at that time viceroy of the Deccan to serve as lieutenant to his eldest son Mahomed (not Maurum) in the war of Golcondah. In the contention of Shah Jehan's sons for the throne in 1658 he served with Sultan Darah, whom he betrayed by giving intelligence and guides to Aurengzebe which led him to turn the strong intrenchments of Darah on the river Chambul, whom this movement obliged to give battle, in order to save Agra, and the emperor there when he was entirely defeated and owed not a little of his ill success to the farther treachery of Chaeft Khan, who commanded the right wing and retreated without making any efforts, which might have retrieved the field. Darah, hastening to Agra accused Chaeft Khan to Shah Jehan and by his order proceeded immediately to take possession of the imperial treasures at Delhi. Chaeft Khan, relying on his friends with Aurengzebe, and at

* We have seen a drawing of this monument, made by an English officer in 1773.

SLET
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Agra, marched thither with unconcern, as if still in the service of Darah, and appeared with confidence in the emperor's presence, who ordered him to instant death, but *Chaeft Khan* reminded him, that the day was sacred by the Alcoran from bloodshed, on which he was reserved for the next, when a multitude of 10 000 men of his own adherents, and Aurengzebe's, surrounded the citadel, and threatened to scale the walls, if he were not immediately released, which was complied with. A few days after, Aurengzebe, with his brother Morad, encamped near Agra, messages passed, and Aurengzebe agreed to visit his father in the citadel, who intended to seize him, which he signified in a letter to Sultan Darah at Delhi. This letter *Chaeft Khan* intercepted, and carried to Aurengzebe, who evaded the interview, but sent his son Mahomed to make the visit, who, by a counter deception, got possession with his own guards, of the citadel, and the person of the emperor his grandfather. This happened on the 15th of June 1658. Mahomed was left governor of the citadel, and *Chaeft Khan* of the city, when Aurengzebe and Morad marched towards Delhi against Darah. On the way, at Mattura, Morad was seized by Aurengzebe, and sent to Agra, to the ward of Mahomed and *Chaeft Khan*. In August *Chaeft Khan* marched to intercept Soliman Sheko, the son of Darah, who pushed into Cashmire, on which *Chaeft Khan* returned to Agra, where he continued to the end of this year 1658, when Aurengzebe sent him a reinforcement, from apprehensions

sions of the attempts of Solimah Sheikd from Serinagur
¹ Aurengzebe, in the mean time was following Darah from
 Delhi to Lahore, and from Lahore to Multan where Darah
 escaped and Aurengzebe returned by the same route to
 Delhi where he arrived in December and passed into the
 Doab which is the country between the Jumna and the
 Ganges, in order to encounter his brother Sultan Sujah ad-
 vancing from Bengal whom he defeated at Ridgwall near
 Allahabad on the 15th of January 1659 and two days after
 the Maha Rajah Jefwoht Sing who had turned against
 Aurengzebe during the battle with Sujah plundered his camp
 in the ensuing night and then maintained a running fight
 against Aurengzebe himself which secured his booty retreat-
 ing with which he passed under the walls of Agra and was
 only deterred from assaulting the city by the hasty approach
 of Aurengzebe's vahquaril "for Chatst Khan who ought to
 have defended it was frightened out of his senses and even
 made attempts to kill himself From this time the war was
 removed to a distance from Agra, which left Chatst Khan out
 of the danger he defeated Darah through various adven-
 tures after his flight from Multan came to Ahmedabad
 where his maternal uncle Shahzad Khan resided, as Subah
 of the province of Guzerat who besides this common rela-
 tion to all the sons of Shah Jehan had in addition the alliance
 of father in-law to Aurengzebe and Morad to whom his
 daughters were married So that although injured by the fall

of Morad, his revenge on the perpetrator would have fallen upon one equally related to himself, and this consideration, with the ascendancy of Aurengzebe's fortune, might have determined him to neutrality in the contest between Aurengzebe and Darah—but he was a man of goodness, and his daughter, the wife of Morad, was in his palace, whose bitter supplications against the impending murderer of her husband prevailed on him to join the cause of Darah, for whom he levied an army, and marched with him towards Azmir, where they expected the Maha Rajah would, as he had promised, join them with all his force. Aurengzebe, on the first intelligence of this new confederacy, marched from Delhi through Agra to Azmir, and on the way persuaded the Maha Rajah not to move. This disappointment left the force of Darah and Shānāvaze Khan utterly unequal to Aurengzebe's, and obliged them to take post in a strong situation, which the skill of some Europeans in Darah's service rendered impugnable. Aurengzebe, as usual, resorted to stratagem, and employed Debere Chan, and Jysing, to proster their detection on a certain day with the troops of their commands. Darah, contrary to the advice of Shānāvaze Khan, accepted their treachery, which, as soon as they were admitted within the lines, manifested itself by a furious attack on the camp. Shānāvaze Khan fell by the lance of Debere. Aurengzebe advanced, and Darah escaped with difficulty from the general defeat, but only to find no refuge in the vast empire to which he was heir. He

trusted

trust to the shelter of gratitude and was betrayed by the man whose life he had twice saved. He was carried as a criminal to Delhi and put to death there by the order of Aurengzebe, on the 11th of September 1659. In the mean time the general Lour Jamilali had driven Sultan Sujah out of Bengal who with his two sons, and all his family were soon after destroyed by the Rajah of Arracan. Thus, at the end of the year 1659 Aurengzebe was in possession of the throne without a competitor who was not his prisoner for Soliman Sheko had been delivered up to him by the Rajah of Serinagur and was with Morad confined in Guialaur and the emperor Shah Jahan to his palace within the citadel of Agra.

In the beginning of 1660 Aurengzebe appointed Chael Khan to the command of the Deccan he was, without doubt by his birth and connections the first subject in the empire, not of the royal blood and Aurengzebe treated him as such to the end of his life.

In 1661 he engaged in the warfare against ~~SEVAOI~~ which has brought his origin and the revolution of Aurengzebe under our notice.

N O T E VII

Page 11 line 6 It was stopped much longer before Chagnah]—The manner in which Chagnah was taken, is described by Mr Dow, with all the circumstances that can render it probable.

The

The use of bombs would have precluded this invention of the kite, but nothing has occurred to our reading, which indicates that they had hitherto been made use of in the armies of Auengzebe. Even at this day they are rarely used by the native powers of India, unless when assisted by the disciplined artillery-men of Europe.

SECT.
I

N O T E XIII.

Page 14, line 4 *He was received by Aurengzebe with much courtesy, which continued until the ladies of the seraglio, incited by the wife of Chaeft Khan, in revenge for the death of her son, and the disgrace of her husband, solicited Aurengzebe, not unwilling, to destroy him. But the high Omahs, &c &c]—Mr Dow, we suppose from one of his Persic manuscripts, relates the risques which SEVAGI incurred and escaped at Delhi, in a different manner from the account which we have adopted. According to Mr Dow, SEVAGI defied Aurengzebe at the first audience, of which the ladies of the seraglio were spectators through the usual curtain allowed to their curiosity, “ the daughter of Auengzebe was struck with the handsomeness of his person, admired his pride, and haughty deportment, and interceded at the feet of her father,” who had ordered SEVAGI to be carried, as an offender, out of his sight.*

It is scarcely probable that the daughter of Aurengzebe should, from the mere disposition of the sex to admire courage,

SECT I take so much interest in the fate of a stranger who had rendered himself so detestable to her relations, the family of *Chaeſt Khan* who was her father's uncle, and the first subject in the kingdom It is as little probable that ~~a~~ ^{any} person should have inspired the lady with such violent compassion

"Ce Rajah," says Therenot, "est petit et barbu, avec des yeux rifs qui marquent beaucoup d'esprit." And this description as far as it goes, agrees with his picture in which his figure, although very compact, is not elegant and his physiognomy although very significant has no beauty Mr Therenot arrived at Surat within a year after ~~SEVAGI~~ had plundered it for the first time, and with the greatest detriment his return for the same purpose was continually feared which must have made his life and character a constant subject of discussion amongst thousands, who had seen him so much to their cost and Mr Therenot had too much sagacity to be deceived in the selection of what he ought to believe We therefore prefer his authority as low down as he treats of ~~SEVAGI~~, to any other we have seen See Note VII Article 3

N O T E N IV

Page 16 line 10 *Their principal station was at the city of Jenneah which lies under the impregnable fortress of the same name*]—Doctor Erver was sent from Bombay, in the month
 " of

of May 1674, to cue the Mogul's governor at JENNEAH, and describes his journey, the city, the camp of the Mogul's army, and the fortress on the rock, which is called JENNEAH GUR. The governor of the fortress, distinct from him of the city, invited Mr Fryer to ascend the rock, and permitted him to examine the fortress without restraint, for no intelligence could hurt it. Mr Fryer has engraved the stages of this journey, which we have inserted, as well as we could, into the map which accompanies these FRAGMENTS.

SECT.

I

N O T E XV

Page 20; line 24 *These events closed with the year 1665*]—The death of Jysing, mentioned by Bernier, confines the conclusion of this pretended revolt of Sultan Mauzum, at the latest, to the beginning of the year 1667. Bernier dates his letter, on the Gentiles of India, from Shiraz in Persia, on the 4th of October 1667, so that he must at the latest have left India in the beginning of this year, and he speaks of the death of Jysing, as an event before his departure. Manouchi, who accompanied Sultan Mauzum, mentions expressly the concern which the Rajah Jysing took in this fictitious revolt, and we have no right to impute to him such a defect of memory supplied by invention, as we should, by supposing that Jysing was at this time dead. On the other hand, Mr Dow places the revolt in the year 1668, and considers it as really

~~SECRET~~ intended if Sultan Mawum could have seized Delhi Khan
^I who approved of the design marched away to Delhi. M.
 Dow makes the Maba Rajah (Jeffwont Sing) the principal
 abettor of the Sultan and does not even mention either the
 Rajah Jising or ~~SEVAGI~~ in the account he gives of the
 business. These differences can only be decided by authentic
 informations from India.

NOTE XVI

Page 21 line 3 *Shah Abbas died at Tauris in September 1666 and the infancy of his successor changed the councils of Persia to peace.]*—Chardin says, that Shah Abbas died on the 25th of September 1666, at Teber Elsoon, a palace two leagues from Damagaan an ancient city which the Persian geographers place in long 78° 15' lat 57° 20' at twelve days journey from Ispahan and nine from the Caspian Sea.

His successor was not an infant but was entering into his twentieth year. However he knew nothing having never been out of the seraglio.

The music continued twenty days, on account of his age. He never came out of the palace in which he was born until the day after he was crowned when according to the usage he rode gently round the inclosure of the palace to shew himself to the people. He appeared disconcerted and his innocence scared by the people.

N O T E XVII

Page 21, line 26 *The GAUTS*]—We have met with two descriptions of the passage over the GAUTS, one at each extremity of the CONCAN To the north, Mr Fryer, in his journey to Jenneah in 1674*, passed over the GAUT of Dech, fifty miles north-east of Bombay, and returned by an easier, called Nunny gaut, a little lower down · his description seems to partake of the fatigue he endured Mr Anquetil du Perion, in his journey from Goa to Poonah and Aurengabad, in March 1758, went over the gaut of Pondah, which is thirty-five miles to the south-east of Goa, and says, “A sept heures “ et demie, je me trouvai au pied des GHATES, J’arriuai au “ haut a onze heures, apres metre 1eposé trois fois en route, le “ chemin etoit affreux et presque a pic, a droite & a gauche “ se precipitoient au milieu des ronces, des arbrisseaux et des “ rochers, des torrens qui faisoient un bruit effayant” His description of the magnificent prospect from the summit towards the sea, is sublime We have inserted his route from Goa to Aurengabad in our map, and respect to the improvement of geography induces us to say, that no traveller, continually struggling with so many difficulties, ever kept so accurate a register of his way, in all his journeys He not only gives every distance that has a name or note, on the road, but

* See Note VII Article 9

sect the nature of the country with every thing remarkable within his view on either hand. We suspect a few errors of the press in his publication and therefore wish the more that we had maps made under his own inspection to follow in the routes we have inserted in our own from his details which other wise would leave the compass of the geographer nothing to doubt.

NOTE XVIII

Page 24 line 9 *The corlans*]—We do not recollect to have found this term in use in any other part of India. But RIBERIO in his account of Ceylon says, that the ancient principalities of this island, before the conquest of the Portuguese were thus called and accordingly M DELISI in the map which he composed for the translation of Ribeiro by the Abbé le Grand gives the name of corlans to all the principal divisions. The word is rightly spelt in the ancient records of Bombay but has by degrees changed into corries, which is the only term in use there at present to signify the districts on the opposite main which we mention merely that the enquirers in our behalf may know what we mean.

NOTE XIX

Page 24 line 17 *The fortified island of Gingerah*] Mr Alexander Dalrymple has given a very neat view and plan of Gingerah

Gingerah, with a plan of the harbour and entrance of the river of Dunda Rajapoic It is in his collection of plans of ports in the East Indies, published London 1775.

N O T E XX

Page 25, line 1 *And at the end of 1669, appeared suddenly at the head of his army before Surat, &c &c]—Carré, in his first volume, opens the history of SEVAGI in these terms. “ L'an 1669, Surate fut pillée pour la seconde fois par l'armée de SFVAGI ” Carré afterwards relates many particulars of this second ransack, but without mention of the season, which we have ventured to suppose the end of the year, from combination, always doubtful, and wish for certainty from better authority, which may be obtained at Surat, but not from English records, for there are none of this date in the factory. Other cotemporary publications agree that Surat was twice sacked by SEVAGI, and none fix the second pillage before 1669*

It is likewise from Carré that we take the death of the governor of Surat, who, he says, dropped down dead on kissing a letter sent to him by Aurengzebe, in consequence of his treachery with SEVAGI, and the French surgeons who opened his head, easily perceived the trace of the poison A bold assertion! The governors of Surat were not at this time powerful enough to secure even their meals from the influence of

Aurengzebe,

SECT I Aurengzebe, and this governor might have been poisoned by his means which ignorance, and the love of wonder converted to their own conceits for amongst the Mahomedans of India as well as of Turkey it is a mark of science to be credulous in alchymies, and to spend money in quest of the philosopher's stone the elixir of life and other supernatural effects and where the better sort believe the possibility the many rarely doubt the fact as in this instance, how a poison of which the effluvia was to produce instant death could be prepared or fixed to a letter without detriment to the operator

Nothing has contributed more to bring the authenticity of travels into disrepute, than this propensity to relate and believe events which contradict the experience of philosophy What traveller on the Malabar coast has not seen the ordeal trial in boiling oil without harm to the patient? OTYOGON believes a prediction related to him by Mr Bartholomew Harris in 1690 and made by a bramin to Mr Angier concerning the arrival of a ship from England which was verified at the very hour Another bramin according to HAMILTON foretels the death of the English chief at Carwar which happened with equal punctuality The MISSIONARIES abound in necromancies, and the power of fascination The stupid but credulous Navarette has a house assaulted every night by invisible fiends, ducks and mice produced from the leaves of trees, &c. &c.

Even the judicious Sir Thomas Roe has one doubtful story
Mr Anquetil du Perron, none

Sect

I

NOTE XXI

Page 25, line 16 *And reinforcements were ordered to join them even from the province of Behar]*—DE GRAAF, the Dutch surgeon, arrived in BRNGAL at the end of 1669. In September of the next year, he was sent from their factory at Cossimbuzai, to cure the chief of their factory at Patna, and being a good draughtsman, was instructed to take plans and views of what he might see worthy of remark along the Ganges, on which he proceeded in a boat, accompanied by a young writer. He accordingly went ashore at Monghir, and walked round the fort, measuring by his paces the circumference from the river to the river, and the distances between the towers, of which he took notes as he went, but had been observed from the walls, and when he came again to his boat, found it under a strong guard, which carried him and his companion to the fort. Monghir at this time had been little frequented by Europeans, for the governor asked him what nation the Dutch were, and whether they believed in Mahomed, and not knowing what to judge of the travellers, confined them under much hardship in the common prison of criminals at length, after several councils held at his Durbar, and further interrogatories, he told DE GRAAF, “that they were not Dutchmen, for no[n]e

D d

“ came

SECT I "came there but two rascally Portuguese, sent by ~~SEVAOL~~
 " who was in rebellion at Surat, to examine the country and
 its cities, in order to attack them when the opportunity
 should offer" Likewise, "that he should keep them pri-
 soners until he heard from the Mogul at Agra." On which
 DE GRAAF wrote to the Dutch factories at Hughley and
 Patna who procured orders from the Nabob of Behar for their
 immediate release which the governor of Monghir would not
 obey until the Nabob threatened to come from Patna, and
 bring them away himself

Thus, after seven weeks confinement they were released on
 the 26th of November "Three days after they left Monghir
 they met the troops of a Gentoo prince called ~~AMARTINO~~
 " (Amarsing) which consisted of twelve hundred horsemen
 " well equipped forty camels, six elephants, many oxen
 " and a large body of foot. There were besides a great num-
 " ber of boats of various kinds, which carried the baggage
 " and provisions. These people came from the mountain of
 " Assang, and were going to Delhi and Agra in order to join
 " the army of the Mogul, and afterwards march against
 " the rebel ~~SEVAOL~~."

N O T E V X I I

Page 25, line 25 *In conjunction with the fleet commanded
 by the Siddee.*]—At the end of this year 1669, or in the be-
 ginning

ginning of 1670, Father Navarette sailed from China This we conclude, because the ship arrived at Malacca on the eve of the purification, which eve is the 1st of February He says, chap xvii "Just before my departure from China, some news arrived out of Europe one piece was, that Bandarra had been a notorious Jew, and that his tomb was thrown down, and his prophecies supprest" — "that the English at Bombay overthrew the churches, and cut to pieces the pictures of the altars" — "that the infidels attacked Goa, took two thousand christians, and killed a Franciscan, and the Viceroy did not behave himself well"

If this news concerning Bombay and Goa came from Europe, it must have gone thither first, and must be at least eighteen months old when Navarette received it, which would be June 1668 But we must suppose it came from India, and most likely from Goa to Macao, but no ship could arrive from India at Macao in December or January, nor could any from Goa, which had not sailed before the end of May, for then the monsoon sets in on that coast A ship sailing from Goa in all May, might arrive at Macao in all August, or earlier If they staid on the coast of Malabar until the monsoon grew more temperate, which is in August, we don't see how the ship could get to Macao against the monsoon of the China sea, in December still Navarette received the news in December We suppose the news came to the Philippines, and was brought from thence to Macao by some China Junk,

~~SECT~~ or smaller vessel although not usual to make this voyage at that season. Now the infidels appear by what Nararette says afterwards, to be Sevagi's army whether Sevagi himself commanded, although we think he did. After all it is an admissible conclusion that Sevagi was before Goa some time in April or May 1669 or at least he must have been there in 1668 if the news came from Europe.

NOTE LXIII

Page 25 line 25 *In 1670 he sent a large detachment to attack the town of Rajapore*]—Father Nararette was at Gol condah in July 1670 and had thoughts of travelling by land from thence to Goa but in his own words—“Perceiving how difficult a matter it was to go to Goa and that the difficulty increased every day because a rebel whose name was Subagi (Sevagi) ranged those countries with a powerful army, I made to those gentlemen (the French factory) and, finding a fit opportunity accepted of the favour they offered me”—which was, to give him a passage in a ship of theirs to Surat.

Nararette writing as it should seem on board a ship, in his passage to Surat from Masulipatam whence he sailed on the 17th of October 1670 adds, “It is fit to say something of the Great Mogul. He that now reigns put his father to death, and usurped the crown. This man had a

son,

son, who governs a province eight day's journey from Golcondah, towards Bengala" (a mistake, it is more even to the Neibeddah of this son and government hereafter), "which properly belongs to the prince, who designs to follow the example his father set him, and get all into his own hands Anthony Coello, who had serv'd under him, told me that he had already two hundred thousand horse and three hundred thousand foot a brave army, if they are but good men He designs to join in league with the rebel Subagi, who is very great and powerful I mentioned, in another place, how he attacked the territory of Goa, and carried away two or three thousand christians, and a Franciscan He sent to demand of the Viceroy of Goa to make good a ship of his the Portuguese had taken The Viceroy was in a passion, and beat his embassador an action nobody could approve of. The English governor of Madras told me, that Infidel would make war upon Goa, by sea and land, and make slaves of all the Portuguese men and women he could light of Subagi may do it, and the Mogul better, but he will not take small things in hand The king of Golcondah is more to be feared, because Coromandel and all these coasts are subject to him" This being a considerable point, an account of it was sent several ways to Goa and Madras So here we see Sevagi dreaded at Goa in 1670, and a treaty between him and the Mogul's son threatened Who was this son ?

Navarette sailed from Goa on the 16th of November 1670, and in the passage up the coast lay some days in sight of

Dabul,,

~~secr~~ Dabul which he says, is a strong and handsome fort he longing to Subagi

I Continuing the voyage says Navarette we went on to Bombay Baccau and on the 8th of January (1671) by break of day were before Daman On the 11th we passengers went up to Suah in a Dutch boat that came to us." Chap xxx begins thus I came to Suah much tired and had a mind to wait for a religious man who designed to travel by land but the next day I had a letter from him, giving me an account he had not been able to come by land by reason of Subagi's army which lay in the way he having already drawn near to Golcondah and destroyed many towns and villages about that court." Thus determined Navarette to go to Europe in a French ship for which he obtained leave of Carron the French director who he says, was a rank heretic, but that he treated him with great respect and attention

Navarette left Golcondah on the 28th of July and Masulipatam on the 17th of October (1670) It is therefore probable although not certain that Seragi's insurrection towards Golcondah was about or after the middle of October for if it had been before, Navarette would have heard of it before he sailed from Masulipatam and if it had been later Seragi would not have appeared as we say in the beginning of 1671 before Surat

Navarette continued at Surat until the 21st of January 1670 when he embarked on the French ship for Europe so that his stay there was not more than eleven days. He says,

" Whilst I was there, the Portuguese little fleet arrived, which runs along that coast every year. Near Bacain they met another small fleet, belonging to Subagi, consisting of fifteen small ships. They drove it up to the shore, and took every one of them without the expence of a grain of powder"—This is the first positive mention we meet of Sevagi's having a fleet of his own at sea. But it could be only his.

NOTE XXIV.

Page 26, line 10. *In the beginning of 1671, he appeared again before Surat, &c*]—We take this from De Giaaf, when arrived at Patna, who says, after the 31st of January 1671, "The letters which were received *at or about this time* from Surat, by the way of Agra, gave information of the pil-lages exercised by the prince SEVAGI, the contributions he exacted, and the ravages he committed at Surat and the adjacencies. He demanded a large sum from the Dutch factory, but it was refused."

NOTE XXV.

Page 32, line 11 *Rickloffe Van Goen*]—He reduced Manar and Jaffnapatan in 1658, which completed the extirmination of the Portuguese out of Ceylon, and in 1661, 1662, he took from them Coylan, Crangainore, and Cochin. He was succeeded by his son Rickloffe in the government of

SECRET of Ceylon, in 1675 and in 1678 became governor general
I of Batavia

NOTE XXVI

Page 32 line 25 *The French ships had come into the harbour*]—* Dellen the physician was in one of these ships but we write from the Bombay records of the year

NOTE XXVII

Page 34 line 19 *At Hubely*]—This place, notwithstanding its importance is not mentioned in any map that we have seen nor in our manuscript of the Decan but Mr FRYER says, that Vixiapore is ten days journey from Carwar and probably six We have placed it accordingly in our map

NOTE XXVIII

Page 35 line 16 *The English company as before at the taking of Rajapore had lost effects to a considerable value in the sack of Hubely*]—The English factory at Carwar generally kept a broker at Hubely to sell their imports, and collect the cloth intended for England which was all produced on the other side of the gauts for according to Mr FRYER “ CARWAR has no peculiar commodities or manufactures of its own product.” He was there in 1666 and says, “ the

* See Note III article v page 21 of these Notes.

“ factory

factory was then decaying, by reason of the embroil of the country, no inhabitants were out of heart to buy or sell. Nevertheless, the movement ordered for 1822 is considerable, and consists of the following articles:

1,000 pieces of paper.

1,000 pieces of *Chintz*, one full yard wide, and eighteen yards long, value Rs. 1,000/- each.

Same piece of paper.

10,000 pieces of *Pattu*, of 4 yards long, the pattern, and yellow broad.

200 bales of *Chintz*.

200 pieces of *Latac*, broad.

2,000 pieces of *Scarf*.

50 cindri, each 100 lb. of *Chintz* bales.

Deccan is the lighter sail cloth of India, and this quantity might have been ordered in consequence of some expectation of war with the states of Hollywood, but only 5,000 pieces were procured. The intention, nevertheless, proves that Mysore is at the time in repute for the abundance of its manufactures, which at present scarcely supply more than the consumption of its diminished inhabitants.

N O T E — XXIX

Page 41, line 1. [*I king of the Monatto nation &c &c &c*]—
Mr. ISWRAEL pretends, that the fabulous histories of the Hindoos describe the divisions and subdivisions of their own country, by performing them into a genealogy from MRIN
India, who was the eldest son of Ham, the son of Noah.

SECT I. HIND had four sons ROUNIB the north (division) BANG Bengal DECAN the south or the country south of the Nerbheddah MARWAAL, Guzerat Decean had three sons MARRAT all the countries inhabited by the Marattoes COXNER all in which the language of the Canarins is spoken TELINGO all in which the Telunga or what Europeans call the Gentoo language We have no notion that the Hindoos admit any such genealogy Their chronology reckons by mynads

The same FERISHTA in his history of the Decan which is not translated * says, that the Marattoes claim an antiquity of 5 000 years as a nation and a sovereignty which is many centuries before the deluge

However both assertions prove that the Mahomedans esteem the Marattoes to be as ancient as any other of the Hindoo races

It is a very admissible conjecture to suppose that their ancient country extended wheresoever their language prevails at present It is from Mr AVQUETIL DU FRANCO we learn that it is spoken westward of the gauts from the island of Bardez near Goa to the river Tapti on which Surat is situated Our MS. account of the Decan says they were anciently in possession of the country which is at present comprised under the Circar or immediate government of

* Since the first edition of this work in the year 1742 Ferishtah Willmott's Dekhan has been translated into English by Captain Jonathan Syce II of the East India Company's Service and Persian feet say t Warren Hastings by illustrated with many curious and valuable notes; in 2 vols. 4to. 1793

An account of the Empire of Hindostan.—After the same extent from north to south
there is the measure to the seaward of the gents, as from
Bassein to the Cape on the seaward, their inland country
extended that on the sea could be one hundred and fifty
miles in breadth, and the whole on both sides of the mountains
is more than hundred and forty miles from
north to south, and two hundred from west to east, in the
same degree of latitude.

"The largest and most of my purity in India, is a
description of the S. *map of India*, of it's climate, and is
described by Alvaro de Barreto the author of the other the
Circassia or Malabar. Their civil and religious institutions
peculiar to themselves, but the Circassians the same charac-
ter, in regard to their chronology, by the same cycle. This
from Mr. Anquedal du Perron.

"That part of their country which forms at present the
government of Anengabad, was the first that felt the fury of
the Mohammedans when ravaged in the year 1311, by Gafsoon,
the general of Sultan Alauddin, or under Suri emperor of
Delhi, under which government it continued forty years, but
we cannot ascertain the subsequent subjections of the nation
to the Mohammedan kings of Cundish and Vizapore, and to
the present dynasty of Moguls. At the time of sir. C. R.
revolt, the king of Vizapore possessed all the Morettoo country
on the coast, from the districts of Bonfalo to Gallian and
the mountains and eastern country farther north, but the
Portuguese had then fortresses of Chaul on the main, with the

SECT
I islands of Bombay and Salcette. The Moguls levied a slight tribute in some of the more northern hills, and possessed all the better country between Surat and Aurengabad. The nation thus subjected adhered in many divisions to different chiefs comforted by prophecies of recovering their ancient dominion but without confederacy until SEVAKI a stranger encouraged by his first successes, formed the idea of collecting all the divisions into one state.

NOTE XXX.

Page 41 line 22 *They (the Dutch fleet) met near Metchlepatam a fleet of ten East Indiamen**—Mr Fryer the physician sailed in the Unity one of the ships of this fleet, of which all but one arrived together on the coast of Coromandel and sailing to the northward of Madras, went to Metchlepatam from whence after a month's stay they came to Madras either at the end of July or the beginning of August 1673 where they found the missing ship. Having staid nine days at Madras, all the ten sailed again to Masulipatam and were dispatched from thence to the factory at Pettipolly, where they fell in with the Dutch fleet of twenty two sail which they might have avoided but chose to fight although not all with equal resolution. The Bombay captain Erwin received eighty shot in her hull and some of them

* See a Dutch account of this action in Marat, page 163 et seqq.

between wind and water, which filled her with so much, that she quitted, after an hour's engagement. The Admiral's ship, the London, Captain Bat, having lost thirty-six men, likewise bore away, but after a longer fight, to stop her leaks, and joining the Bombay, was followed by the Musimberg, Captain Welslock, the Unity, Captain Craft, the Ann, Captain Brown, the East India Merchant, Captain Cooley, and the Caesar, Captain Andrews, leaving their three comrades surrounded by the whole of the enemy's fleet of twenty-two ships, against which they nevertheless maintained the fight until utterly disabled. The President, Captain Hide, vice admiral, was boarded several times, and in the Sampson, Captain Erning, the rear admiral was killed, before either struck. Captain Goldsberry stranded his ship Antelope, rather than let her belong to the Dutch, and had the good fortune to escape ashore with what remained of his crew. The seven ships who had borne away, came to Madras on the 1st of September. We take this account principally from Tryer, who was not in the engagement having been detained at Madras when the ships returned to Metchlepatam.

NOTE XXXI

Page 48, line 6 *Mr Henry Oxenden was deputed, and Sevagi received his visit with civility*]—Tryer has given Mr Oxenden's *Narrative* of this embassy to Sevagi, and the journey

ney to Rairee Mr Oxenden has not been curious in the geography of his journey he only mentions the resting places, which are only four and excepting Esthemy the first stage leaves us to guess the hours, and rate of his travelling in order to determine the distances of the stages. Esthemy he says, is six leagues up the river of Chaul, but does not mention the course of the river but from combination with an improbable position which must otherwise be given to Rairee, we have ventured to suppose that it flows from the south-west and according to this conjecture have marked the stages of Mr Oxenden's journey and the situation of Rairee in our map Mr Fryer has given this track separately on the same plate as his map of the peninsula but sets Esthemy E N E. of Chaul.

NOTE XXXII

Page 43 line 11 *[It was publicly weighed against gold; and the sum amounting to 16 000 pagodas.]*—which is equal to 112 pounds avoirdupoise, and agrees with such a make as his picture describes

NOTE XXXIII

Page 43, line 18 *[Admitting eighteen of twenty articles proposed.]*—We have the twenty articles from the Bombay record;

records of the time, as settled there with Sevagi's agent, and delivered to Mr Oxenden, to procure Sevagi's ratification of them at Rance.

scr. I

NOTE XXXIV.

Page 44, line 25 *In the ruined town of Galhan*]—
This town at the time of Sevagi's revolt, belonged to the kingdom of Vizipore. It was taken by the Portuguese in 1553, who do not seem to have maintained it with a constant garrison. Mr. Liver was there in April 1675, and we shall give his description, as it marks the ancient magnificence of a city, which no one else mentions as of considerable note. He says, “Early therefore the next morning (April the 26th) “I left the most glorious ruins the Mahomedans in Deccan “ever had cause to deplore for this city once the chief “emporium, excelled not only in trade, but the general confe-“quent, sumptuousness, if the richiques of the stately fabrics “may add credit to such a belief, which richiques, notwith-“standing the fury of the Portugals, afterwards of the Mo-“gul, since of Sevagi, and now lately again of the Mogul “(whose flames were hardly extinguished at my being here, “and the governor and people on that score being prepared “more for flight than defence at present) are still the extant “marks of its pristine height. The remaining buildings hav-“ing many stones of square facing stones, and the mosques, “which

Sect
I

which are numerous, of the same, abating little of their ancient lustre being all watered with delicate tanks, about which are costly tombs, with their distinct chapels or mosques, where formerly the *mullahs* (or priests) had sat pensions to pray for their departed souls, which is maintained by them as efficacious wheresoever they covet funerals in the most conspicuous places, which the pleasant summer houses hanging over here cause these places to be. The unemployed people of the town daily wasting their time in these inviting varieties, which is the only thing pleads for their continuance ~~so far as~~ a Gentu being otherwise inclined to rare them yet purposely to prevent them from the use of the donors, and intention of the founders, orders them to be converted into granaries, especially those within the city. The houses the present inhabitants keepe in are mean the people beggarly, by reason of these hostile incursions."

Mr Fryer was received with civility by Sevagis officers in the town and they appointed a great mosque for his lodging.

It is probable that Gallian existed early in the 14th century as the immediate metropolis of Salcette, Bombay, Bassein and all the adjacent country although under a higher power. That Odoric of Pavia who had returned from his travels to India and wrote his account of them in the year 1300, says, that he arrived in twenty-eight days from Ormus,

Oimus, at a city called Thana (on the island of Salcette) and describes particularly the martyrdom of four friars, which had happened there some time before his arrival, whose piety had led them to dispute before the Cadi, or ecclesiastical judge of the town, and to tell him that his prophet Mahomed was in hell with his father the devil on which the governor, whom Oderic entitles Meleck, executed them under excessive tortures but the king of the country, Nodsi, called up the Meleck, and, having examined the case, put him and all his family to death for his despotism and cruelty, on which the Cadi of Tannah fled the country. Friar Oderic collected and carried away with him the bones of the martyrs, to which he imputes several miracles.

It is evident from this account, that Tannah was under a Mahomedan government, and most probably GALLIAN likewise but king Nodsi must have been a Gentoo, who entrusted the command of them to Mahomedans, in order to encourage the resort of their trade from Persia and Arabia

We are aware, from Mr D'Anville, that Tannah only is mentioned in the tables of Nassreddin, and Uleg Beg, who flourished in 1261 and 1437, and by Abulseda, who was cotemporary with Friar Oderic. But as no vestiges of magnificence have been discovered at Tannah, and as no vessels of burthen can pass beyond it towards Gallian, Tannah might be the port of deposito, to which merchants occasionally re-

SECT I paired to transact business with the ships, who nevertheless might consecrate the enjoyment of their fortunes to the more splendid residence of Gallian. And Mr D'Anvillo himself supports us in the notion, even of an earlier antiquity by supposing that the famous Calliana of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, and of *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, is the island of Caranjab in the harbour of Bombay for we have no doubt that he would have appropriated Calliana to Gallian, if he had ever seen a map in which this place had been laid down. The *Periplus* is imputed to the second century—Cosmas travelled in the sixth

N. O. T. E. XXXV

Page 45 line 17 *The armada which used to cruise every year from Goa to assert the sovereignty of the Indian seas, had the year before crossed over to the gulf of Persia*]—Chardin says, that he received news of this expedition of the Arabs to Bassein, on the 4th of April, 1674; he being then at Gom Broon. The latter part of Chardin's account, differs from ours, that the Arabs were routed by an ambuscade of sixty Portuguese near Damav as far as which they had marched, and there abandoned all their booty in a precipitate flight back to their vessels, from which it should seem they were twenty leagues distant when defeated. We wrote from the Bombay

Bombay records, which do not mention this defeat, and Chardin writes from letters which might be not authentic, and from report (on rapporte) which might be less so

In June 1674 a ship returning from Gombroon was abandoned in a storm in the gulph of Cambay, and the government of Surat demanded all that was saved with the people in the long-boat, in virtue of the Mogul's title to wrecks

Chardin writes under the 15th of February 1675, he then at Ispahan.

N O T E XXXVI.

Page 49, line 23 *In the island of Sooloo—where his tomb is shown at this day*]—Mr. Dalrymple has seen the tomb

N O T E XXXVII.

Page 49, line 26 *That he continued alive in Indostan*]—SEVAGI, when he plundered Surat in 1664, gave out, in mockery of Aurengzebe, that he had Sultan Sujah in his camp, who, as rightful emperor, had given him the town

N O T E XXXVIII.

Page 51, line 20 *For a cessation of hostilities until Pondah should be reduced*]—Chardin gives an account of the dispute between the Portuguese armada in the gulph of Persia, with the government of Persia, concerning the revenues of Congue,

SECT I and thence takes occasion to speak of the general declension of their power and affairs in the East Indies. This seems to be written at Ispahan, under June the 28th 1675—the period we are now treating in the Fragments. He says, ‘the Portuguese, in losing the maritime countries of the Indies,¹ have lost the former respect which used to be paid to them, insomuch that those who were under the greatest degree of subjection to their domination are those who afterwards insulted them the most, and who *at this present* press upon them the hardest. I mean to speak of the people of Malabar in which the city of Goa is situated. Sevagi, that famous conqueror, who is the most powerful prince of this country (Malabar) ravages, when he pleases, to the very gates of the city and probably will drive them out of it one time or other’.

As Pondah was taken in the end of April the news could scarcely have arrived at Ispahan by the 23d of June 1675 but the march of Sevagi’s troops to invest, which was in February or March, might.

N O T E XXXIV

Page 54 line 2 *A fort called Sibon belonging to the Portuguese in the neighbourhood of Baffin*]—Mr Anquétill du Perron towards the end of 1700 travelled from Surat to Baffin, in order to examine the famous excavations in the island of Gacette, which he has described as well as his journey,

ney, with his usual diligence He returned to Surat nearly by the road he came, but the fort of Sibon did not fall in his way, either coming or going We have inserted his route into our map One of the Portuguese country, from Daman to Bassem, is much wanted, for we find several places of some consequence in this territory, mentioned in the records of Bombay, whose situations have not yet come to our knowledge.

N O T E XL

Page 60, line 21 *They (s̄EVAGI's army) laid siege at the same time to two strong forts, one called Billigong, near Banca-pore, the other at five days journey from this, and called Raym]* —Neither of these places is mentioned in our manuscript of the Decan, either under the *subah* of VIZIAPORE or of BEDER, consequently neither have the rule over a *purgun-nah* or district, in either of these subahs but strong forts are often separated as seifs or jaghires, from the ordinary municipal government, and we have no doubt of the existence of these, because we find them mentioned in a letter dated the 6th of October of this year 1676, from the government of Bombay to the presidency at Surat

“ This day arrived Narransinay, (he had been sent on business to Ranee). Sevagec is not gone down the coast, “ but struck up the hill, and has besieged two castles in
“ Balgot

sect " Belgot (Balagat) one called BILLICOVO near Banapore
I " the other called RATIM (or Vayim for it is doubtful in the
 " manuscript) about five days journey on this side of it. He
 " has made great havock in the Vizaporo country, and does
 intend to continue it which we believe will much prejudico
 " the company's investments at Rajapore and Carwar. We
 hear not of any army intended towards Surat, or that way,
 and suppose none will be sent because himself is gone so
 " far up the hill."

NOTE XLI

Page 61 line 3 Bahadar Khan—listened to proposals from Seragi, who offered it is said, 400 000 pagodas with his homage of scalty to the Mogul on condition that permission were obtained for his passage through the territory of Golcondah to attack that part of the Carnatic which was subject to Vizapore]—Neither SEVAGI's intention of attacking the Carnatic, nor his stipulation for the passage of his army through the territory of Gol condah, were publicly known when he concluded the terms of peace with Bahadar Khan At that time an agent named Narransinay was sent from Bombay to Morah Pundit at Chaul in order to settle the payment of what remained due from SEVAGI on Mr Oxenden's agreement and other debtments This Narransinay writes from Chaul in the beginning of December (1676) that "Seragi is to pay the Mogul 400 000

“ pagodas yearly, to assist him with five thousand horse, and that
“ saw Morah Pundit send to Rairee for four lacks (400,000)
“ of pagodas, to send away immediately for the first year's pay-
“ ment, and that the five thousand horse were gone under the
“ command of Narangi Pundit” Such an agreement, con-
sented to by such a dealer as Sevagi, would have been equi-
valent to an open avowal of his intentions not to abide by it,
he neither parted with his money nor his troops so easily on
any terms, much less on expectation We have no doubt
that Morah Pundit sent some money to Bahadar Khan, and
intended to send more, as circumstances might require on
the other hand, it was natural that Morah Pundit should wish
the English at Bombay might believe that Sevagi's country,
during his absence, was under the immediate protection of
the Mogul, since from this respect they would be less cau-
tious of refusing their harbour to the Siddee, who only claimed
it on the same pretension Accordingly Bombay writes to
Suriat on the 20th of December, that “the peace is broken,
“ because Sevagi would not deliver his son Sambagi as a
“ hostage” But again, Bombay writes to England, on the
19th of March 1677, “We have some credible reports that
“ there is peace concluded between Sevagi and the Mogul,
“ but dare not absolutely affirm it, though some of our ser-
“ vants that are now come from up the hill say that there is
“ free egress and regress out of Sevagi's into the Mogul's
“ dominions if so, we have hopes to open a trade directly
“ up

SECT I " up the country, which in time may much advance the customs, and increase the trade and splendor of the island" There was peace and no mention of hostilities in the Bombay record during the rest of the year

Mavouchi, so far from supposing that Sevagi paid anything for the truce, says that Aurengzebe, from his greater apprehensions in the war of the Pitans, ordered his son Sultan Blauzum "to make peace with Sevagi without regard to the dignity of the empire, and to the chastisement of an adventurer who had crowned himself with his own hands"

N O T E VLI

Page 61 line 14. *But the king (of Chandergham at the close of the 16th century) is styled king of Bisnagar for what reason we do not find unless from the ancient title of a lost possession for the city of Bisnagar is situated on the other side of the Carnatic mountains two hundred miles to the N W of Chandergam, and was at this time part of the dominion of the Mahomedan king of Viziapore.]—Caesar Frederic, the Venetian set out in 1565 and continued in the East Indies until 1581 In 1567 he went from Goa to Bisnagar the account he gives of the state of this kingdom is very obscure, nevertheless we shall endeavour to guess his meaning The hereditary king of Bisnagar, a Gento, had for many years been kept in confinement*

ment by his ministers, Ramagio*, who represented on the throne, and was called king, Timiragio†, who held the seals, and managed the revenues, Bengatre‡, who commanded the army, in which were two Moorish captains of note and influence. The three ministers became impatient of the life of the king, and the son of Timiragio put him to death in his confinement, which raised discontent, of which the two Moorish captains took advantage, and invited an invasion, which was accordingly made by the four neighbouring Mahomedan kings, who were *Dialcan* (Idal Caun) king of Vizziapole, *Zamuluc* (Nizamalmuluck, king of Berai) who resided at Ahmednagur, *Cotamuluck* (Cuttub Shaw) king of Golcondah, *Vindy* (king of I don't know what, unless it be Candish) Ramagio and Bengarie fell in the battle against the four kings, and Timiragio fled with the loss of an eye but the wives and children of all the three were sent away in safety. The four kings entered BISNAGAR, and remained in it four months, searching and digging for treasure, and then, says Frederic, "departed to their own kingdoms, because they were not able to maintain such a kingdom as that was, so far distant from their own country".

After the departure of the four kings, Timiragio returned to Bisnagar, and invited the merchants at Goa to bring horses,

* Ram Rajah

† Temi Rajah

‡ Venkitrou

SECT ^I whom he afterwards elicited Frederic went in company with two of these horse merchants, to buy diamonds, which were brought from the mine of Raolkondah and staid seven months at Bisnagar until the ways were cleared of thieves, but might otherwise have done his business in one.

He then says, that the king and his court by reason of the sacking of the four kings, went to dwell in *Pengondak* a castle eight days up in the land from Bisnagar that this city was twenty four miles in circumference, and had fallen to such decay in consequence of the war and capture that many parts of it were infested by tigers but that the palaces of the three tyrants, and the pagodas, were remaining unimpaired that he had seen many, but never saw such a palace as that of Bisnagar by which we suppose he means the ancient palace of the ancient kings By the king and his court who went to dwell at *Pengondah* we conclude he must mean Timragio There is a *Penukonda* marked by Mr D'ANVILLE, as a fort on a rock, situated on the bank of the Penar about midway in its course to the north, before it turns to the east twenty miles west of this fort is a *Pakonda* which is only marked as a common town but from a later map of the Decan, of which we may hereafter trace the documents, we have inserted into our own a considerable fort on a rock, called *Palkondah* which stands north of the other two and twenty miles west of the elbow of the Paliar, not far from

Shipri

Shirpi We cannot determine whether either, or which, is the Penigondah of Fiederic, but all the three stand equally convenient for the transfer of a fugitive government to CHANDERGHERRI, from which they are distant one hundred and twenty, one hundred and thirty, and one hundred and forty miles It still remains to know, whether the king of Chandegherri, to whom the Jésuits went in 1599, was a descendant of Timragio, or of the rightful king of Bisnagar, murdered by Timragio's son, but we believe of Timragio. We wish all this were enquired for in India, which may perhaps be found at once with the Bramins at Tripetti

Fiederic, after his return from Bisnagar to Goa, saw, in different voyages, all the ports from hence to Cape Comorin, and on the coast of Coromandel from Comorm to San Thomé It appears from his evidence, that the kingdom of Bisnagar extended from sea to sea on the western coast from the river of Carwai to Mangalore, one hundred and twenty miles, on the eastern, from Negapatam to San Thomé, and probably farther north to Nelore, which would be two hundred and forty, the breadth across the peninsula is nearly three hundred miles The whole of the present kingdom of Tanjore was under the dominion of Bisnagar, and governed by a Naigue or deputy, who treated the Portuguese at Negapatam with imperiousness, and at San Thomé they submitted to whatsoever exactions were imposed The sea-coast of the Maravars and Tinivelly was under other jurisdiction

NOTE XLIII,

Page 61 line 20 *Tuo Portuguese Jesuits went from St Thome to Chandergherri in the year 1599 and were received with attentions by the Gentoo King whose sovereignty they describe as extending over the countries of Tanjore and Madura and other Jesuits who travelled at the same time into these countries, confirm the assertion*]—Our authorities may be found from page 726 to page 808 of the book entitled *De rebus Japonicis, In dieis, & Peruvianis, Epistole recentiores, a Joanne Hayo Scoto, Societatis Jesu in Librum unum concavante. Antverpia, m dcv Octavo* These jesuits, one or other were at Negapatam Tranquebar Tanjore Chillambarum Gingee Thetenapatam Conumee, Trivadi Salatank Sadras, Chungla pett Conjeevaram Tripetti Pulliacat Armegon Cotapatam Trivalore likewise at Madura but none make mention of Trichinopoly nor they who went to Chandergherri of Arcot their relations are very curious.

The *Thesaurus of Jastic* printed at Cologno in 1615 not only gives all that is published by Haye concerning this mission of Chandergherri but a farther account of it from subsequent letters, which confirm the sovereignty of Chandergherri over the Naunes of arvare and tansor, but describe them as too powerful not to be often refractory and in 1609 the governor of vrlore, at their insluation refused his tribute,

bute, and stood a severe siege, but was at length reduced by the king, who, amongst his other titles, which are very extravagant, styles himself Mahometanorum exercituum debellator, which, with other passages, prove him to have been a GENTOO.

SECT.

I

NOTE XLIV

Page 62, line 1 *About the year 1645, a descendant of this Gentoo king of Chandernghur, permitted the English to purchase the ground of Chinapatam, on which they raised Fort St George, and the town of Madras*]—Madras, from its first establishment, became important to the company's commerce on the coast of Coromandel, which had before centered at Masulipatam but since the year 1744, it has been the metropolis of the national war in India, although Bengal has lately attempted to have its share in this fame, of which both are at this time partaking largely. The origin of famous men and places is always an object of curiosity, and we have lately, by the help of a record, come nearer to the foundation of Madras than ever we could get before. In 1661 the presidency at Surat blamed the agency of Madras for persisting in giving protection to two or three capuchin friars, who were Frenchmen, although one of them had suffered an imprisonment of five years in the inquisition at Goa, for accommodating his ministry to the convenience of the settlement. The agency pleaded the reasons which originally induced the permission of

sect of their residence to which the friars were invited in order to draw the Portuguese from San Thomé who being considered as Europeans, would add to the military reputation of Madras, consequently attract the resort of the natives, and with them an increase of trade all which would go back to San Thomé, or be dispersed if the capuchins were expelled In the course of this argument the agency say "At the company's first beginning to build a fort, there were only the French padres, and about six fishermen's houses so to entice the inhabitants to people the place proclamation was made in the company's name, that for the term of thirty years, no custom of any thing to be eaten, drank or worn, should be taken of any of the town-dwellers. Now twenty-one years of that time being expired," and the town become flourishing both in inhabitants, trade and commercial customs, all will be to begin anew if the capuchins are expelled. If twenty-one years of a term of thirty were expired in the year 1661, it follows that Madras was founded in the year 1640

NOTE XLV

Page 62 line 8 *The forces of Singapore reduced Velore, which probably was their first conquest]*

Page 62 line 17 *It is said the kingdom of Tanjore was likewise reduced by Singapore but we have met with no documents to confirm this position.]*

- Mr Thevenot says, p 273, that "the king of Viziapore, " after having taken what was in his neighbourhood, pushed "his conquest to the cape of Negapatam" Again, p 274, describing the extent of the kingdom of Viziapore, he says, "that it is bounded on the south by the country of the " Naique of Madura, whose state extends to Cape Comorin. " This Naique is tributary to the king of Viziapore, as well as "THE NAIQUE OR TANJORE, to whom belonged the cities " of Negapatam, Tranquebar, and some others on the coast " of Coromandel, when taken by the king of Viziapore" These are positive assertions of the conquest of Tanjore, but we find nothing to confirm them in such letters as we have seen, written to and from Madras in 1661, 1668, 9, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, although they clearly point out Gingee as subject to Viziapore. Notwithstanding our respect to Mr Thevenot's authority, we must remark his mistake in supposing the king of Bisnagar or Chandergherrī, conquered by Viziapore and Golcondah, in 1652, 1656, was a Mahomedan, with the ancient title of Adil Shah, king of Narsingāh, whereas the Madras records prove him undoubtedly a Gentoo. Mr. Thevenot says, VELORE was the capital of this king, which may be true.

N O T E XLVI.

Page 62, line 19 *The army of Golcondah, led by the famous Emu Jumlah, reduced all the hilly country which stretcheth north*

SECT *north of Velore from Gandicotali towards the sea [c.]*
I TAVERNIER went from Madras in 1652 to sell pearls to Emir Jumlah besieging Gandicotali and arrived there on the 1st of September six days after the place had surrendered. He ascribes the success to four pieces of cannon planted on a neighbouring hill and managed by European gunners, against two which were all the garrison had to oppose but Thevenot says that Jumlah invited the governor to a conference on assurance of free return to his fortress, and kept him prisoner, until he gave orders for the surrender.

NOTE LVII

Page 63 line 5 *They (Aurengzebe and Emir Jumlah) besieged the king of Golcondah in his capital who to preserve his diadem submitted his government to the control of the Mogul which had continued until this time and enabled Naha dar Khan to procure the humiliating permission which Sevagi requested*]—Mr Bernier says, that Aurengzebe, on making the peace “fit consentur le roy (de Golconde) que toute la monnoye d’argent qui se fairoit desormais porteroit d’un “cote la marque de Cha Jehan” We have read somewhere else that the king obliged himself to give the Mogul’s ambassador at his court information of all the material resolutions of his government Manonchi speaking of the permission which sei voi requested says, that l’autorité d’Au “rengzebe

“ rengzebe fit consentir aisement le roi de Golconde aux
 “ demandes du SEVAGI.”

I.

N O T E XLVIII

Page 63, line 10. *The want of cotemporary record has disabled us from acquiring any regular account of Sevagi's expedition into the Carnatic]—This expedition, the most important of SEVAGI's life, had important consequences, which will appear hereafter, as well as we have been able to collect them. It is therefore more especially our wish, that enquiries may be made in India concerning the whole of this portion of the history of Coromandel, which operates even at this day in the events of that country We have reason to believe, that no cotemporary records of the company will be found either at Madrass, Bombay, or Surat, which we have not discussed in England, but the informations they afford on this subject are very scanty*

Bombay writes to Surat, June 27th, 1677 “ * Mr Child
 “ (from Carwar, where he was chief of the factory,) writes,
 “ that SEVAGI is in a castle of the king of Golcondah, where
 “ he intends to winter; and after the rains, it is thought,
 “ intends against the Carnatic Several of the Decan Om-
 “ iahs are joined with him, and its believed that Bullul
 “ Cawn and he have agreed to share all between them The

* He was afterwards Sir John Child, governor of Bombay

SECT I " Decan country is so miserably harassed that Mr Child does not expect to provide* a piece of goods this year and we believe Carwar to be in little better state Morah Pundit has lately been to visit the northern garrison of Salere and is now past by and gone to Raicee, where we shall be sure to find him"

July 11 1677 Again Sevagi at present is a great way off in the Carnatic country where he wintered In his absence, Morah Pundit and Anagi Pundit and another Bramin are left to govern affairs, to whom we have sent to procure their cowl (pas) to all generals of armies that shall come towards Surat that they molest not the English in any part where they come nor plunder any of their goods."

August 24th 1677 SEVAGI is at present in the Upper Carnatic, where he has taken the strong castle of Chingy (Gingee) Chingavore†, Pilcundah‡, and several others, and shamefully routed the Moors§, and its believed has robbed Seringapatam||, and carried away great riches from thence and they say he designs, on his return back to take Bind roor¶ and so join Canara to his own conquests"

* See Note xxviii page 203.

† Chingavore is the Moor's in me (or rather proscription) of Tanjore

‡ Pilcundah, perhaps Volcondah.

§ The troops of Viziapore.

|| Capital of Mylare

¶ Bidnoor

Madras, in a letter dated September 1, 1677, which is not to be found, advise the company, that the nearness of SEVAGI engageth all their attention to fortify, they describe *his force and success*, and had received three messengers from him with letters July 9, 1678, they say that little action hath passed between the armies of the king of GOLCONDH and SEVAGI.

It is from a subsequent record nine years later, in 1687, that we find SEVAGI passed by Trivadi, where we suppose he paid his devotions, as all the Morattoe generals have done ever since, who have been near it. We have ventured to ascertain the outline of SEVAGI's conquests in the Carnatic, by the indication of subsequent occurrences, of which none suggest that he entered the kingdom of TANJORE. It appears by Manouchi, that Sambagi accompanied his father into the Carnatic.

In our history of the national wars in India, we have supposed Velore to have been built by the Morattoes, having understood so when there,* probably mistaking possession for foundation, from our ignorance of SEVAGI's conquest, which must intirely overset that assertion, unless we should hereafter find that the Carnatic had been in more ancient times a Morattoe sovereignty, of which we have hitherto discovered no traces, excepting in the inaccurate talk of the people of the country.

* See The Military Transactions in Indostan, vol 1 page 45

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I

NOTE XLIV

Page 67 line 1 *We now resume the war which Aurengzebe had conducted in person against the Pitans beyond the Indus where he arrived in the beginning of the year 1675]* We have taken all we say both before and now concerning this war of the Pitans, from Manouchis, but have adjusted the few dates we give (for he gives none) from the records of Surat and Bombay which often received intelligence of the distant affairs of the empire, and sometimes mention them but abstractedly referring to the original letters in Persic, which we suppose are all lost now as well as the translations, if any were made even the dates of the intelligence are not recorded but the mention ascertains the time of receipt, and we have allowed for the journey

We can have no expectation that an account of this war will ever be collected by any of our own nation or other Europeans in India, all being luckily for themselves, at too great a distance from the country of the Pitans but it may have been compiled by some writer at Delhi and it is not improbable that an account of it either more or less explicit than Manouchis, is at present in Europe Mr ANQUETIL DU PERRON in his Legislation Orientale gives an extraordinary instance of the benevolent justice of Aurengzebe to an old woman, who maintained her family by a mill of which

his

his soldiers had turned off the water—this happened in 1674, at Aſtanabad, which we suppose the Aſtanabdal of Manouchi on the Indus, when Aurengzebe was marching to this war of the Pitans. Mⁱ Anquetil du Peron cites the incident from a manuscript history of Indostan, composed by Mⁱ Gentil,* who ſerved long with reputation in the French army in India, and, with the languages, acquired much knowledge of the country. We flatter ourselves that this work will be published. Every information concerning the Pitans and their country, will assist the history of the Sikes, the invasion of Nadir Shah, and the later invasions of the Afghans under their prince Abdalla.

SECT.

I

N O T E L

Page 70, line 22 *Panwell, a large town on the river Penn*]—Panwell is *not* on the river Penn, but on another to the north of it, which opens due EAST from the middle of the island of Bombay, whereas the entrance of the river Penn is in the angle of the harbour, SOUTH-EAST of the island. The authority we followed is entitled to more than half the error, and this section of the Fragments was printed before we were set to rights by a plan of the march of the English army, in January 1778, from Bombay, to attack POONAH, the capital of the Morattoes. This plan, besides the inland march, comprises the harbour of Bombay, and the island of Salcette.

* See Note in page 171.

sect I. The army landed and commenced their first march from Panwell which continued the deposit of their stores and provisions sent from Bombay. The plan was sent by Mr R H Boddam the chief of Surat, to his brother Mr Charles Boddam the director and we were favoured with a copy of it by Mr Dalrymple. It not only ascertains the real situation of PANWELL, but likewise of ABITA which soon occurs in our narrative but it gives no indication concerning the river of Negotan which is often mentioned in the ancient records we have considered and in the first conquest of the Portuguese, in 15.6 when they took Bassein and Tannah. Mr D Anville has inserted the river Negotan in a situation where we do not see how it can exist nevertheless we have given his position in our map as a help to combinations which may tend to remove the obscurity

NOTE LI

Page 73 line 6 *Of his (Aurengzebes) brothers, Darah had written a treatise, endeavouring to reconcile the doctrines of Bramah with the tenets of the Alcoran]—This treatise was brought to England by Mr FRAZER and is in the Radcliffe library under the following title as given by Mr Frazer “*MUSKAN AL DINNAH* (i.e. the uniting of both seas) A treatise wrote by Sultan Darah Shekorth eldest brother to “Auring ebe in which he endeavours to reconcile the Brahmins religion with the Mahomedan citung passages*

‘ from

" from the *Koran* to prove the several points. It was his writing this book, and conversing so much with the *Brahmins*, that chiefly lost him the empire, for Aurengzebe made a pretence of that, and consequently had all the bigoted Mahomedans to join him."

We learn from Mr Anquetil du Perron, that " Sultan Darah, in 1656, likewise caused a Persian translation to be made by the *Brahmins* of Benaras, of the *OUPAKHAT*, " a work in the *Sanskrit* language, of which the title signifies, "the word that is not to be said," meaning, the secret that is not to be revealed. This work is an extract of the four *Vedas* (Books) and gives in fifty-one sections, " the complete system of the Hindoo theology, which establisheth the unity of the First Being, whose perfections and operations personified, become the names of the principal divinities of the Hindoos, and demonstrates the re-union of all nature to this first cause, the deity." Of this curious work, Mr Anquetil has promised to publish a translation!

* There is a copy of the Persian version of this work in the British Museum, with a MS. translation which we understand was made by N. B. Halbed, Lijq —This title, written and pronounced by the *Brahmins* of Benaras, is according to the English orthography *OUPAKHAT*, and of the French *OUPAKHAT*. The *Sanskrit* character answering to the English *sh* and the French *ch*, is, by the vulgar of India, often pronounced like *Lh*, or *L* aspirated.

† This work has since been published at Paris, by M. Anquetil du Perron, in two large volumes in quarto, in which, at page 755 of the second volume, is the following compliment to Mr Orme. In alio ejusdem historie exemplari MS (fol 6 recto) quod ad me misit amicus meus eruditissimus et veritatis amansissimus Indice historiographius, D. Orme's (terrenaque un cœlestes auras spirat) eadem præcise verum hæc, oculo post byl (28) in satyog addito, quod recidit

SECT I. Mr Bernier says that in the last council held by Aurengzebe concerning the fate of Darah an Omrah insisted on the necessity of his death because he had long quitted the religion of Mahomed and was become a coiffe, a pagan and an idolater. He was accordingly put to death for which Aurengzebe made the same apology to Sultan Shickowh, the son of Darah whom he assured of safety but destroyed by the poppy draught at Gualior.

Mr Halked's translation of Darah's Preface to the Ospancehat

Dārū Shīkhī's Preface.

Praised be the Being among the eternal secrets of whom is the dot of *B* of the *bismillah* in all the heavenly books and glorified be the *Alm* of the mother of books, which in the Holy Koran is a token of his glorious name and the angels, and the heavenly books, and the prophets and saints, are all comprehended in this name. And be the blessing of God upon the best of his creatures, 'Mahomed and upon his children and upon his friends universally — To proceed Whereas the unsolicitous Fakir Mahomed Dārū Shīkhī in the 1050th year of the Hegri, went to *Cashmér* the resemblance of Paradise by the attraction of the favour of God and the blessing of the Infinite He there obtained the auspicious intercourse of that most Perfect of the Perfect of that Flower of Gnōstic, of that Tutor of Tutors, of that Sage of Sages, of that Guide of Guides, of that Unitarian skilled in Truths *Melnd Shāh* on whom be the peace of God! And whereas

whereas he was impressed with a longing to behold the gnosis of every sect, and to hear the lofty expressions of Monotheism, and had cast his eye on very many theological books, and been a follower of them for years, and as the thirst for investigation, which is a boundless ocean, became every moment increased, subtle doubts came into his mind, for which he had no possibility of solution, except by the words of God, and the direction of the Infinite Being. And whereas the holy Koran is almost totally mysterious, and at the present day the understanders thereof are very rare, he was desirous to collect into view all the heavenly books, that the very word of God itself might be its own commentary, and if in one book it be compendious, in another book it might be found diffusive, and from the detail of one, the conciseness of the other might become comprehensible. He had therefore cast his eyes on the books of Moses, and the Gospels, and the Psalms, and other holy pages, but the explanation of Monotheism in them also was compendious and mysterious, and from the slovenly translations which prejudiced persons had set forth, their purport was not intelligible. Thereafter he considered, on what account is Hindostan conspicuous for Monotheism, is there so much discourse of the Divine Unity, and wherefore, both in the exterior and interior practices of the most ancient sect of Hind, is there no disavowal of the Divine Unity, and no apostacy against Unitarians, but there is even a stock of faith in opposition to the blockheads of the

SECT present time, who have established themselves for erudite, and
Who falling into the traces of murder and molestation and
 apostatising from and disowning the true proficients in God,
 and Utidians, display resistance against all the words of
 Monothelism which is most evident from the glorious Koran,
 and the authentic traditions of indubitable prophecy and
 all highwaymen in the path of God. After verification of
 these circumstances it appeared, that among this most ancient
 tribe, out of all their heavenly books there are four principal
 holy books, which are, the *Rik Vēd*(¹), the *Yējēr Vēd*(²), the *Sām Vēd*(³), and the *Athīrbān Vēd*(⁴), together with a number of
 ordinances descended upon the prophets of those times, the
 most eminent of whom was Adam, on whom be the peace of
 God; and this purport is manifest from those same books.
 And it is also known out of the holy Koran that there is no
 tribe without a Prophet, and without a Bible; and from
 sundry passages therein it is proved that God inflicts not
 punishment on any tribe, until a Prophet hath been sent to
 them; and that there is no country wherein a religion ac-
 companied with prophecy hath not been placed and of a

(¹) *Rik Vēd*—The word of God in which the syllables of the letters of each
 Hemistich are equal in number.

(²) *Yējēr Vēd*—The word of God, in which the letters of the fourth Hemistich
 are unequal in number.

(³) *Sām Vēd*—The word of God which is chanted with music.

(⁴) *Athīrbān Vēd*—The fourth book of God.

certainty, Prophets with conspicuous miracles have been sent, and holy books with them. And the principal parts of those four books, wherein are contained all the secrets of the *Shlokas*,^{*} and of the contemplative exercises of pure Monotheism, are called *ōpnēkhēts*^(*) and the Prophets of that time having extracted them, have written commentaries, with complete and diffusive interpretations thereon, and being even still understood as the best part of their religious worship, they are always studied. And whereas the views of this Seeker of plain truth were directed to the origin of the unity of the Being, in the Arabic language, and the Syriac, and the Chaldaic, and the Shanscrit, he was desirous to comprehend these *ōpnēkhēts*, which are a treasury of Monotheism, and in which the proficients, even among that tribe, were become very rare, by translating, and without any worldly motives, in a clear style, word for word. Since as this sect hath kept them so exceedingly hidden and concealed from the professors of Islām, what are the secrets contained therein? And as at this period the city of *Bēnārēs*, which is the metropolis of the sciences of this tribe, was in certain relations with this Seeker of truth, having assembled together the *Pūndits* and *Sīnyāsees*, who were the most learned of their time, and proficients in

* Or *Slōks*, Verses.

(*) *Opnēkhēt*, *Oopaneeshat*, or *Upamishat*—A sentence of Monotheism, which is a Secret to be concealed, according to the *Sanſkrit*.

~~sect~~ present time, who have established themselves for erudite, and who, falling into the traces of malice and molestation and apostatising from and disowning the true proficients in God, and Unitarians, display resistance against all the words of Monothelism which is most evident from the glorious Koran, and the authentic traditions of indubitable prophecy and are lighwaymen in the path of God. After verification of these circumstances it appeareth, that among this most ancient tribe, out of all their heavenly books there are four principal holy books, which are the *Rik Vēd*(*)¹, the *Yज्ञur Vēd*(*)², the *Sām Vēd*(*)³ and the *Athīrba Vēd*(*)⁴, together with a number of ordinances described upon the prophets of those times the most eminent of whom was Adam, on whom be the peace of God! and this purport is manifest from those same books. And it is also known out of the holy Koran that there is no tribe without a Prophet, and without a Bible and from sundry passages therein it is proved, that God inflicts not punishment on any tribe, until a Prophet hath been sent to them; and that there is no country whereto a religion accompanied with prophecy hath not been placed and of a

(*) *Rik Vēd*—The word of God in which the syllabs of the letters of each Hymn are equal in number.

(*) *Yज्ञur Vēd*—The word of God, in which the letters of the fourth Hymn are unequal in number.

(*) *Sām Vēd*—The word of God which is chanted with music.

(*) *Athīrba Vēd*—The fourth book of God.

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* Or *Slōks*, Verses

(‘) *Opnēkhēt*, Oopaneeshat, or Upanishat—A sentence of Monotheism, which is a Secret to be concealed, according to the *Sanſkrit*

I

SECRET the *đpnîkhîts*, himself free from prejudices translated these essential parts of Monotheism which are the *đpnîkhîts*, i. e. Secrets to be concealed and the end of the purport of all the saints of God in the 1067th year of the Hejra. And every difficulty and every sublime topic, which he had desired and sought and had looked for and not found he obtained from these essences of those most ancient books, which without doubt or suspicion are the first of all heavenly books in point of time, and the source of the fountain of verity, and an ocean of Monotheism, and are in conformity with the holy Koran and even a commentary thereon And it becomes clearly manifest that this sentence is literally applicable to these ancient books, viz. the venerable Koran is in a book which book is hidden and which cannot be discovered except by the heart which is become purified, and which hath descended from Providence. It is evident to any person that this sentence is not applicable to the Psalms, or to the books of Moses, or to the Gospel and by the word *descended* it is clear that it is not applicable to the reserved tables of destiny And whereas the *đpnîkhîts*, which are *Secrets to be concealed*, are the essence of this book and the sentences of the holy Koran are literally found therein of a certainty therefore the *hidden book* is this most ancient book, and hereby things unknown became known and things incomprehensible became comprehended by this Fâkeer In beginning this translation

SICR.
I

translation he opened the holy pages as an omen, and the chapter of Arâf* came up, of which the first sentence is thus “A L M S a book hath been sent down unto thee, “ and therefore let there be no doubt in thy breast concerning it, that thou mayest preach the same, and that it may “ be an admonition to the faithful” and he had no intention, and no purport, except for the religious advancement of his children, and his friends, and the seekers of truth Happy is he, who having abandoned the prejudices of vile selfishness, sincerely and with the grace of God renouncing all partiality, shall study and comprehend this translation, which is to be denominated ‘mighty secrets,’ knowing it to be a translation of the words of God he shall become unperishable, and without dread, and without solicitude, and eternally liberated”

Sultan Darah's Prayer to Rudr

A PRAYER directed by the BRAHMINS to be offered up to the Supreme Being, written originally in the SANSKRIT language, and translated by C W BOUGHTON ROUSE, Esquire, from a Persian version of DARAH SHUKO, a son of SHAH JAHAN, Emperor of Hindostan

“ O RUDR, I reverence thee in thy majesty, and in thy displeasure I reverence thy arrows, which convey destruc-

* Al Arâf is the 7th Chapter of the Keran, and this sentence is borrowed from Sale's translation, p 117

sacr t tion and thy bow thy quiver and thy arms, which are the givers of victory Look toward me with that countenance of benignity mild like the face of the moon by which thou bestowest joy and doest away all sins.

O thou who art the Lord of mighty mountains, dispel the pains of all mankind make them joyful, and defend them from harm and grant that I may remain secure under thy guardianship and protection Thou art the great Physician of Physicians! heal thou my infirmities disperse my vicious and malevolent inclinations, which lead me into the road of evil.

* I reverence thee in the sun, which is thy image, whilst it scatters a hundred thousand vivifying rays over the universe whilst in meridian brightness it diffuses gladness nor less when at morn or eve its flaming countenance denotes thy anger Turn away that anger from me.—I reverence him who is the source of joy to living creatures, whose nature is exempt from decay and knows not the increase of age To him and all that springs from him I owe reverence and honour

O RUDER firm thy bow to defend me from all my open or secret enemies. Shoot the arrows of thy quiver to destroy them. When thou hast destroyed my enemies, and unstrung thy bow and taken off the points of thy arrows, and art rejoiced then grant that I likewise may rejoice. But thy bow is not like other bows, nor thy arrows like other arrows. Thou needest not to string the bow nor to sharpen the points of

NOTES]

needst not the sword like other swords, to
arrows. Thou purposes. O thou who canst fulfil desires,
accomplish ~~tho~~^{no} enemy can baffle, guard and protect me on
whose designs drive my enemies far from me
every side, and , thy arm is like fluming gold. Thou art the

SELECT.

I

" O RUMI ~~nes~~ All causes of things have their origin in
Lord of all art the cause of causes. Thou art space. The
thee. Thou ~~whidh~~ is thine. Thou art Lord of all the beasts,
verdure of the, and other living creatures. Thou art the
and the birds light that shines is thy light. Thou enterest
guide, every substance ill.

into all: thou of those who go astray, O Lord of life, O pu-

" O punishi terrify not thy creatures, strike them not, de-
rest of beings!, nor let even one of them suffer pain from thee,
stroy them not best strength to the feeble, and medicines to
O thou, who g me thy support, that I may enjoy health, and
the sick, granrn, turn my understanding toward thee, for
live. O RUMI Lord of power I befeech thee to keep all
thou art the a belong to me, whether man or beast, in quiet
creatures whic Preserve all the inhabitants of this city
and security. of vith sickness do thou, RUMI, give them
Afflict them ne diseases far from them We all come before
health, and drieation grant unto us all those blessings which
thee in supplied of thee for us, when they were dehrous of
our fathers askto existence Old men, and young children,
bringing us int unborn, all join in sacrifice and prayer unto
and infants yo thee

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS [NOTE.

thee O thou who art ever young and mighty thou source
 of joy be gracious toward me. O thou who wantest nothing
 who art worthy of adoration I reverence thee. O thou who
 employest thy arms for my security who hast thousands of
 thousands of weapons scatter my enemies, and destroy them
 for thou RUDRA art supreme in every part of nature. Exert
 for my protection thy powers which are over the earth, the
 air and the heavens, and under the earth which show them
 selves in the plains in the vegetation of the trees, in the va-
 lous species of living creatures, in the waters, and in so-
 provided for the support of life Thou who destroyest
 which eat the food and drink the waters who art amidst
 guardians of the highways, and in the places of worship
 all thou art the infinite RUDRA in every one I implore
 to protect me and to disarm my enemies To thee, at
 thy other various powers and attributes not here enum-
 I offer reverence Ten times toward the east ten times
 the south, ten times toward the west and ten times
 the north I bow myself before thy earthly powers, and
 their aid that I may enjoy health and see the destruc-
 my enemies Ten times toward the east ten times
 the south ten times toward the west ten times to
 north and ten times with my eyes on heaven above
 myself before thy aerial and heavenly powers, whi-
 are the wind and rain I invoke their aid that I
 health and see the destruction of my enemies. P.

these is RUDER, whose infinite power I reverence. RUDER, whose fulness is in all. All that has been, it is he. All that ^I is, it is he. All that shall be, it is he."

The foregoing Prayer is extracted from the JUDGER BEDE, to which it may be curious to subjoin a Description of RUDER, to whom it is addressed, as contained in another sacred book, intitled, the ATHERBUN BEDE.

"The angels, having assembled themselves in heaven before RUDER, made obeisance, and asked him, O RUDER, what art thou? RUDER replied, were there any other, I would describe myself by similitude I always was, I always am, and always shall be There is no other, so that I can say to you, I am like him In this ME is the inward essence, and the exterior substance, of all things I am the primitive cause of all All things that exist in the east, or west, or north, or south, above or below, it is I I am all I am older than all I am King of Kings. My attributes are transcendent I am truth I am the spirit of creation, I am the Creator I am the knowledge of the four BEDS* I am Almighty I am purity I am the first, and the middle, and the end I am the light And for this purpose do I exist, that whosoever knows Me, may know all the angels, and all

* The Sacred Writings of the Hindoos, in the *Shanscrit* language

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS [NOTES]

books, and all their ordinances. And whosoever knows the learning of the Bedes, from thence he will learn the duties of life, he will understand truth and his actions will be virtuous. And to those who practise virtue will I give fulness and tranquility.

RUDER having pronounced these words to the angels, was absorbed in his own brightness.

NOTE LII

Page 73 line 15 He (Aurengzebe) determined to enforce the conversion of the Hindoos throughout the empire, by the severest penalties.]—DE GRAS when at Houghly in Bengal in the year 1670 says, Au mois de Janvier tous les gouverneurs & officiers mirent l'ordre du Grand Mogul d'empêcher l'exercice de la religion payenne dans tout le pays & de faire murer tous les temples ou pagodes des idolâtres. On diminua en même temps les taxes des marchands Mahomedans & on augmenta celles des idolâtres dans l'espérance que quelques Payens embrasseroient la religion Mahomedanne. Et pour mieux faire paroître sa pitié l'empereur envoya à la Mecque une très grosse somme d'argent à l'honneur de son grand prophète Mahomed. Il dépecha aussi des ordres pour défendre tous les lieux publics de débauche mais pour lui il n'observoit pas ces ordres dans son palais." In

In 1674 he forbade the use of cochineal in the dyeing of ~~secr~~
garments, as too splendid a colour for the sanctity of a ~~I~~
Mahomedan.

N O T E LIII.

Page 73, line 23 *An old woman led a multitude in arms*]—
This story is told by Manouchi, as well as by Dow, but with
different circumstances

N O T E LIV

Page 74, line 9 *Abnu, Chitore, and Joudpore, are the three great Rajahships of Indostan*]—The standing force and revenue of these princes in 1770, were reputed,

Of ~~ABNIR~~, twenty thousand horse and eighteen thousand foot, revenue fourteen millions of rupees.

Of ~~Joudpore~~, which is more commonly called the Rajah of MARVAR, thirty thousand horse, his revenues above ten millions of rupees

Of CHITORE, twenty thousand horse and ten thousand foot, his revenues likewise are computed at ten millions of rupees

We have this note from Mr C W BOUGHTON ROUSE, and hope that the late expedition from Bengal into the province of Malva, will have acquired ample information concerning the language, geography, and ancient history of these countries,

~~SECRET~~ countries for such an opportunity will not soon occur again

N O T E L

Page 73, line 72 *The Rajah Jeffront Sing died in the beginning of the year 1678]—He had written the following letter to Aurangzeb.*

All due praise be rendered to the glory of the Almighty
 " and the munificence of your majesty which is conspicuous
 " as the sun and moon Although I your well-wisher have
 " separated myself from your sublime presence I am never
 " the less zealous in the performance of every bounden act of
 " obedience and loyalty My ardent wishes and strenuous
 " services are employed to promote the prosperity of the
 " Kings, Nobles Mirza, Rajahs, and Roys, of the provinces
 " of Hindostan and the chiefs of Arun, Turun, Room, and
 " Shawn the inhabitants of the seven climates and all per-
 " sons travelling by land and by water This my inclination
 " is notorious, nor can your royal wisdom entertain a doubt
 " thereof Reflecting therefore on my former services, and
 " your majesty's condescension I presume to solicit the royal
 " attention to sonic circumstances, in which the public as
 " well as private welfare is greatly interested

" I have been informed that enormous sums have been
 " dissipated in the prosecution of the designs formed against
 " me your well-wisher and that you have ordered a tri-
 " buto

“ bute to be levied to satisfy the exigences of your ex-
“ hausted treasury

SECT
I

“ May it please your majesty, your royal ancestor Maho-
“ med Jelaul ul Deen Akbar, whose throne is now in heaven,
“ conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and firm
“ security for the space of fifty-two years, preserving every
“ tribe of men in ease and happiness, whether they were fol-
“ lowers of Jesus, or of Moses, or David, or Mahomed ; were
“ they Bramins, were they of the sect of DHARIANS, which
“ denies the eternity of matter, or of that which ascribes the
“ existence of the world to chance, they all equally enjoyed
“ his countenance and favour, insomuch that his people, in
“ gratitude for the indiscriminate protection he afforded
“ them, distinguished him by the appellation of Juggut
“ Glow (Guardian of Mankind)

“ His majesty Mahomed Noor ul Deen Jehangheer, like-
“ wise, whose dwelling is now in paradise, extended, for a
“ period of twenty-two years, the shadow of his protection
“ over the heads of his people, successful by a constant
“ fidelity to his allies, and a vigorous exertion of his arm
“ in busines

“ Nor less did the illustrious Shâh Jchân, by a propitious
“ reign of thirty-two years, acquire to himself immortal repu-
“ tation, the glorious reward of clemency and virtue

“ Such were the benevolent inclinations of your ancestors
“ Whilst they pursued these great and generous principles,
“ wherefore

KRET " wheresoever they directed their steps conquest and pros-
 perity went before them and then they reduced many
 countries and fortresses to their obedience During your
 majesty's reign many have been alienated from the em-
 pire and farther loss of territory must necessarily follow
 since devastation and rapine now universally prevail with
 out restraint Your subjects are trampled under foot and
 every province of your empire is impoverished depopu-
 lation spread and difficulties accumulate When indi-
 gence has reached the habitation of the sovereign and his
 princes what can be the condition of the nobles? As to
 the soldiers they are in mutuus the merchants com-
 plain the Mahomedans discontented the Hindoos des-
 titute and multitudes of people wretched even to the
 want of their nightly meal are beating their heads through
 out the day in rage and desperation.

" How can the dignity of the sovereign be preserved who
 employs his power in exacting heavy tributes from a people
 thus miserably reduced? At this juncture it is told from
 east to west that the emperor of Hindostan jealous of the
 poor Hindoo devotee will exact a tribute from Bramins
 Sanorahis, Joghies, Berawglies, Sonnassees that regardless
 of the illustrious honour of his Timurean race he conde-
 scends to exercise his power over the solitary mosses
 anchorites If your majesty places any faith in those books,
 by disunction called divine, you will there be instructed
 " that

SECT
I

“ that God is the God of all mankind, not the God of
 “ Mahomedans alone The Pagan and the Mussulman are
 “ equally in his presence Distinctions of colour are of his
 “ ordination It is he who gives existence In your temples,
 “ to his name the voice is raised in prayer, in a house of
 “ images, where the bell is shaken, still he is the object of
 “ adoration To vilify the religion or customs of other
 “ men, is to set at naught the pleasure of the Almighty
 “ When we deface a picture, we naturally incur the resent-
 “ ment of the painter, and justly has the poet said, Presume
 “ not to arraign or scrutinize the various works of power
 “ divine

“ In fine, the tribute you demand from the Hindoos is
 “ repugnant to justice it is equally foreign from good po-
 “ licy, as it must impoverish the country moreover, it is an
 “ innovation and an infringement of the laws of Hindostan
 “ But if zeal for your own religion hath induced you to deter-
 “ mine upon this measure, the demand ought, by the rules of
 “ equity, to have been made first upon RAMSING, who is
 “ esteemed the principal amongst the Hindoos Then let
 “ your well-wisher be called upon, with whom you will have
 “ less difficulty to encounter, but to torment ants and flies
 “ is unworthy of an heroic or generous mind It is wonder-
 “ ful that the ministers of your government should have
 “ neglected to instruct your majesty in the rules of rectitude
 “ and honour”

~~SECRET~~ The elegant translation of this letter was made and given to us by Mr C W Boughton Rouse

NOTE LVI

Page 71 line 2 *The island of Kenary*]—We have extracted all we say of the dispute which ensued for this and the adjacent island of Kenary from the daily correspondence between the council of Bombay and their cruizers on this service.

NOTE LVII

Page 84 line 23 *Dongong where the English had factors Chupra, and other great marts were again plundered and Brampore shut its gates*]—Dongong is likewise spelt in the records, Durongam and Drongom. Gong means a town, and occurs frequently in the geography of Candish and Aurengabad and still more in the Morattoe country. We find that the English presidency at Surat established a factory at Drongom in April 1674 but their correspondence does not ascertain the situation of the place which appears to have been under the jurisdiction of Aurengabad for on some injury which the factory had received from the Phousdar of the district (it was towards the end of 168) the presidency procured a letter from the governor of

Surat

Surat to the Duan at Aurengabad, to redrefs the grievance. - SECT
The factors say, that *Dongom* is 130 cosf from *Surat* the road was by *Saler Molei* and *Nourdabai*, whereabouts a caphila of the company's goods, coming from Drongom, was plundered in January 1681, by a troop of banditti, who were not Morattoes

Mr D'Anville, following Thevenot, in his route from Brampore to Bider and Golcondah, gives a *Deulgong*, to the east of Brampore and Aurengabad, nearly equally distant from both. And its distance from Surat agrees nearly with the 130 cosf given by the factors. We find this place in our MSS. of the Decan, under the province of BERAR, as the head of a purgannah or district, in the government or circar of *Mekheri*.

A *Dongom* arises in the marches of Mr Buffy, between Aurengabad and Golcondah, but its distance from Surat is too great, not to prefer the other. This Dongom is not mentioned in our MSS. of the Decan, under the subahs either of Aurengabad, Bider, or Golcondah, to one of which it must belong.

The investment provided for the company at Drongom in 1683, was,

10,000 pieces of broad bastaes

10,000 pieces of sevaguzzies

2,500 maunds (100,000 lbs.) of turmerick.

*ECT
1

NOTE LVIII

Page 86 line 23 *Amongst others they sacked Huttany, a
very considerable mart]—Huttany is mentioned as such not
only by Fryer but likewise in the records of the English fac-
tory at Corwar which had continual dealings there never-
theless if at that time it has not of late years been the head
of a purgannah or district because the name does not occur
in our MSS of the Deccan Mr Davville has placed a
town called Attent forty miles west of Vizapore and twenty
east of Raibaug but this is too near the capital to have
been maintained for any time although it might have for-
merly been plundered by Scragi We have inserted the
Attent of Mr Davville into our map*

1

NOTE IX

Page 89 line 14 *His (Scragis) disorder although increas-
ing every day was kept secret within his palace at Raicee, and
if it had been published would not have been believed since he
had more than once sent abroad reports of his death, at the very
time he was setting out on some signal excursion]*

Page 90 line 2 *He expired on the 5th of April 1680 and
in the fifty-second year of his age]—BOMBAY on the 28th of
April 1680 write to the presidency of Surat ‘ We have cer-
“ tain*

“ fain news that SEVAGEE RAJAH is dead, it is now twenty-
“ three days since he deceased, 'tis said of a bloody flux,
“ being sick twelve days How affairs go in his country, we
“ shall advise as comes to our knowledge, at present all is
“ quiet, and Sambagee Rajah is at Parnella” The purport
of another letter from Bombay to Surat, which is dated the
3d of May 1680, likewise confirms the death of Sevagi

SECT.
I

SURAT, answering, on the 7th of May, to the letter from
Bombay of the 28th April, say, “ SEVAGEE's death is con-
“ firmed from all places, yet some are still under a doubt of
“ the truth, such reports having been used to run of him before
“ some considerable attempt, therefore shall not be too confi-
“ dent until better assured” The next letter from Surat is of
the 18th of May, in which they express no farther doubt of
his death, and two English factors, who had been sent to
Rajapore in order to receive the balance of account allowed
by Sevagi to the company, write on the 22d of June to
Bombay, that they were disappointed by the arrival of a new
subadar or governor, who declared that he should pay nothing
without the express orders of SAMBAGEE, on which the fac-
tors sent a messenger to Sambagee, who was certainly at
Pannela, and answered, that he should examine the accounts,
but was at that time employed in other affairs

The agency of Bengal; in answer to the advices they had
received from Bombay of SEVAGI's death, write on the 13th
of December 1680, “ SEVAGI has died so often, that some
L L 2 “ begin

1

" began to think him immortal. A certain little belief can
 " be given to any report of his death until experience tell
 " the warning of his hitherto private affairs since when
 " he dies indeed it is thought he has none to leave behind
 " him that is capricitated to carry on things at the rate and
 " I stone he has all along done."

The dates we have quoted from Bomby Serat and Bripoer incontestably prove that Mr Lever is mistaken in saying ~~ser. 1671~~ died on the first of June 1680 but as Mr Lever did not digest his letters for publication until twenty years after their date his memory might easily fail in correcting the error of his memorandum. But Catrou although guided by ~~Mavocur~~ (who says more of Sevagi than all the other writers and particularizes the cause of his death) simply says that he died in 1679 from which we conclude that Catrou did not find the particular date in Mavouchi's manuscript, and gave it generally from a conjecture of his own.

N O T E , LX

Page 90 line 6 *Attendants, animals and trees were burnt with the corpse*]—We have these circumstances of Seragi's funeral from Mr Fryer from whom we likewise learn that Seragi during Mr Oxenden's embassy in 1674 married his fourth wife but the mother of his son Ramrajah was exempted

empted from his funeral pile, and so would Sambagi's, if she had been alive, as having both passed the term of beauty, which seems alone to be consecrated to this cruel penalty, and almost revokes the respect which contemplation cannot refuse to the gentle manners of the Hindoos^I in all other observances

The Bramins always preside and officiate in these sacrifices, and with more zeal than in any other of their priestly functions, excepting when they sacrifice themselves to save the temple of their religion.

The Jesuits in JARRIC say, that three hundred and seventy-five women burnt with the NAIGUE of Tanjore, who died in 1602, which we suppose to be the honest but enthusiastic credulity of missionaries lamenting the infernal state of the heathens they wished to convert.

If the princes of the Hindoos, who alone could have suppressed, have encouraged these deathful rites, by suffering the profusion devoted to their own obsequies, they themselves are obliged to surrender even an infant daughter, if betrothed, to the immolation, when called for by the manes of a husband.

N O T E LXI

Page 91, line 20 *Broods were raised from the most approved*]—The horses bred in India, although naturally more vicious

SECTION I. vicious than those of Armenia, Persia and Tartary, are like them, preferred intire. It is rare that any of race or value have been seen by the European travellers at open pasture which in Coromandel is too arid and in Bengal too rank to give them size and vigour nevertheless a few are seen straggling in every part of these countries but so diminutive and naught that no one owns them and they may be taken up for the sum of a few pence to the *Semundar* and there is a breed at *COLK* west of *VELORE* which although active and not hardy serve for the wretched cavalry of the neighbouring polgons. *Seragi* at the time of his death, had 60 000 horse and as many foot always ready for the field besides his stationary guards and garrisons. The Morattoe horses are of all sorts and sizes, but always lean active and hardy the effect of continual exercise and fatigue so that it is probable fewer survive than perish under the experiment of service. In detachments of ambuscade they ride mares, not to be discovered by neighing. It is worth the inquiry to know in what parts of India the good horses are bred together with the properties of the soil, and the care of the breeder.

A race which have height and agility are bred on the river *KUTCH* another stronger on the *INDUS* but in what part we have not yet discovered

Mr Fryer says, that *SEVAOI* stabled his choicest horses at *DECID* at the foot of the gaut going to Jenneah "for the
" concrenency

"conveniency of this plain to supply them with hay and corn, which causeth them to have the greater force" By corn we suppose he means rice. M Anquetil du Perron, in his journey from Surat to Bassein, saw near *Naucaur* "des paturages garnies de chevaux" We have found no other mentions of *stables* or horse pastures in the Morattoe country Where are the rest?

SECT.

I

N O T E LXII

Page 94, line 3 *In personal activity he exceeded all generals of whom there is record*]—Mr FRYER says, that he even wished to command his fleet in person, and tried the element, but his constitution could not overcome the nausea

N O T E LXIII.

Page 95, line 5 *His state has been always increasing*]—It is said that Aurengzebe used to call Sevagi, the Mountain Rat, and we have often wondered what affinity there could be, to give occasion for this epithet One says, that Seva means a rat, in one of the Indian languages We thought it might be in derision of his figure, which was short, thick, and black but we have now found (Jan 1785) in Brett's Feyjoo, vol 1, page 58, a description of the properties of an animal which Feyjoo calls the Rat of India, that makes the appellation

SECRET lation applied to Scragi a compliment and very characteristic of his military policy

However we must not be sure that Aurengzebe had this animal in his idea, until we know whether it exists in India proper for if it does not but in other parts of the East Indies, and if not there in America which the Spaniards call India it may be that Aurengzebe never had any idea of the animal unless he read it in some Arabic Turkish or Persic history in all which languages he was completely skilled — This must be inquired into for the allusion is most apposite

N O T E LIV :

Page 95 line 6 *This state comprised on the western side of India all the coast with the back country of the hills from Mirzou to Versal; excepting the small territory of Goa to the south Bombay Salcette and the Portuguese country between Bassein and Daman to the north* } — Thus SEAOI had reduced the whole tract of the sea-coast which had been subject to the kingdom of Vinapore and according to BALDXUT who was in India from 1655 to 1666 extended from the river Mirzou to Dando. Dando lies between Agaum and Daman from whence to Versal, thirty miles, we suppose belonged either to the Moguls, or to independent Rajahs.

N O T E

N O T E LXV

Page 95, line 12 *The whole (of SEVAGI's dominion to the west) may be esteemed four hundred miles in length, and one hundred and twenty in breadth*]—To save doubt, and the trouble of comparison, we shall observe, that this extent differs from what is given in Note **xxix**, because there we are computing what we suppose to have been the original country of the Morattoes, but here, the territory which **SEVAGI** had reduced under his own sovereignty.

N O T E LXVI

Page 100, line 16 **ACBAR**]—**BFRNIRR** says, that Amengzebe (in the year 1664) “summoned his privy council, and “the most learned persons of his court, to decide on the new “preceptor he should give to his third son **ACBIR**, whom he “intends to be his successor” Acbar was at this time about seven years of age, and we find by other accounts, that this preference arose from Acbar being the son of a Mahomedan mother, the daughter of Shânâvaze Khan, who, as one of the Sophy family, was descended from Mahomed, by his daughter married to Ali, whereas the Sultans Mauzum and Azim were born of the daughters of Rajpoot princes We are ignorant how long the preference of Acbar continued, but it had ceased some time before the commencement of the war

M M

against

~~SECRET~~ against the Haypoot Rajahs and probably from the concurrence of several causes Sultan Mauzum had manifested abilities courage, and on all occasions implicit obedience and in these qualities even Sultan Azim exceeded Achbar who, naturally wayward and arrogant assumed the succession to the throne as a right instead of an undue predilection in his favour which diminished still more after the birth of Cawn Buksh whom Aurengzebe cherished with the utmost tenderness, as the son of his old age and of his favourite wife Udepurri who governed him in all concerns relating to his family and from the time Aurengzebe no longer held out Sultan Achbar as the general heir of the empire whom this change in his expectations exasperated to the revolt we are relating

NOTE LXVII

Page 101 line 14 *This day was the 11th (read the 9th) of January 1681*]—We have taken this date from Manouchi one of the very few he gives although it barely allows time for what passed within the limit of another date of which there can be no doubt

NOTE LXVIII

Page 102 line 15 *The partitions of Aurengzebe*]—Which are described by Maxovci as compartments of wood but

Bernier, who went on the journey to Cashmire in 1664, ^{SECT.}
describes the field equipage of Auicengzebe at that time, as ^I consisting of tents

N O T E LXIX

Page 103, line 3 *Acbar put his treasure, with his infant son and daughter, and the females of his family, on his elephants and camels]*

* Page 103, line 10 *But Acbar only accepted the service of 500 Rajpoots, and the protection of the state to his children and family]*

Neither Manouchi, who we believe was at this time in the army of Sultan Mauzum, nor Ovington and Hamilton, who were at Surat in 1690, and speak of this revolt, make any mention of Sultan Acbar's children they appear in the Surat records of the year 1693, and explain a point of history, left in great obscurity by all the accounts we have seen of the accession of the emperor Mahomed Shah, in 1718

N O T E LXX

Page 104, line 15 and 16 *Acbar—arrived on the first of June (1681) at Pawlee Guj, a fort and town at the foot of the Gaus, a day's journey from the shore opposite to Bombay]*—BOMBAY writes to Surat on the 10th of June 1681, “There

"
 " It is been a flying report here for some days, that SULTAN
 REBAN is come down into Sambrigee's country and two
 days ago came over hither from the main a Moor inhabi-
 tant of our island who says he saw him at a place called
 " Jaxlee about a day's journey from Negotan where he is
 with about four hundred horse and two hundred and fifty
 camel and some small number of foot being all that is
 " with him that he is saluted as KING at his entrance into
 " the Rajah's dominions was met by several of his grantees
 " by his order and conducted to the aforesaid place where
 it is said the Rajah is daily expected to wait on him We
 intend a man over to the main who shall go where he is
 and learn what he can and then shall give you a full ac-
 count of all It is said that the RAJAH* and SAMBRIGEE
 " RAJAH intend to join their forces and endeavour to set
 " SULTAN REBAN in his father's kingdom"

Again Bombar on the twenty first of June writes to
 Surat " Our last was of the tenth instant sent by the Carwar
 express We then wrote you of SULTAN REBAN's being
 " at a place called Powlee near Negotan and of our inten-
 tions to send a man thither to enquire into the truth of it
 " and learn what might be farther worthy your knowledge
 " The man we sent returned to us last night and brings us
 " this account The SULTAN is really there he is a white

We suppose of Chlore

† A mistake we suppose for throne

" man

SECT. I

" man of middle stature, of about 25 years* of age he is
 " lodged in a large house covered with straw, at the foot of
 " Pawlee Gu it has tallah walls, but since his being there,
 " are pulled down, it is lined within with white calico, and
 " spred with ordinary carpets he sits open with him of
 " any note is but one man, called Diugdas, a *Rashpoot* of the
 " RANAH's, in great esteem with his master, about five hun-
 " dred horse, and but fifty camels, a small paice of foot
 " they are all lodged near about the SULTAN, and are most
 " *Rashpoots*, very few Moors Without them is quite round
 " placed about three hundred foot, Sambagee Rajah's men,
 " who keep guard, all the Subadars near about are there to
 " wait on him and about four days ago came from Sambagee
 " Rajah to him, one Haipi Phaitang, a person of great
 " quality and esteem he brought with him a letter from his
 " master, and a present that was laid down at the SULTAN's
 " feet, 1000 pagodas, a large string of great pearl, hanging
 " to it a rich jewel set with a very large diamond, and a large
 " jewel of diamonds for the head, with many pieces of such
 " India and Persia stuffs the 1000 pagodas the next day he
 " divided amongst his men All the respect imaginable is
 " paid him, and provisions for himself, horse, and men, is
 " daily brought in by the several Subadars, being SAMBAGEE
 " RAJAH's orders, who himself waits for a good day to set

* See Note LXVI concerning Aebar's age

" out

~~SECRET~~ HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS Notes
out of Pernella towards the Sultan which it is talked,
will be in a few days more and that he will wait on the
Sultan standing and not sit in his presence for the Sultan
permits none to sit in his presence and all that come to
him salute him as KING. He is in want of money but
bath with him jewels of great value It is in every body's
mouth on the main that the ~~RAJAH~~ & ~~ROYALS~~ do resolve to join all and ~~WANDAGEE~~
endeavour to make him KING and this is all we have
concerning him"

NOTE LXXI

Page 105 line 51 ~~RAHMAN~~ was sent to reside in one
the forts of the Carnatic]—We have not yet been able
discover in what fort but suppose the knowledge might
be obtained at Madras, although with more difficulty
is of more concern the circumstances of his life during
nine ensuing years

NOTE LXXII

Page 118 line 5 In this year 1682 the English
factors were expelled from Bantam in the island of Java

* Pernella.

murderous business of *Amboyna* in 1624, with the later expulsion of the English from *Macassar* in 1670, and now from BANTAM, with the inevitable fall of their distant factories under this agency, gave the DUTCH, who likewise held the coasts of CRYLON, the exclusive possession of the four rich spices, with the greatest share of the pepper, produced in the East Indies, and this monopoly had been so evidently the object of their policy, from the first outsets of their trade to India*, that the revolution of Bantam was imputed, even before examination, by all except themselves, to the prosecution of the same design. The discussion soon followed Mr Chidlie, the English envoy, delivered a memorial to the States General in April 1683, and was assisted by Sir John Chardin, the traveller, deputed by the East India company. But at the end of the year the company prepared twenty-two ships, and avowed their intention of reinstating themselves in Bantam by force of arms on which the states broke off the negotiation, and in March 1684 the king, CHARLES the 2d, stopped the armament, ready to sail, and ordered the negotiation to be resumed by his ministers, when, after many delays, it was agreed that four commissioners should be named

* See especially Mémoire dressé par l'admiral C. Matchef au sujet de l'Etat et du commerce des Indes, vol 6 of the Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'établissement et au progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales des Pays Bas 8vo A Rouen MDCCVII

And indeed the narratives in this whole collection prove their earnest pursuit to acquire this monopoly to themselves

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS [NOTES]

27^o

SECT

I

by each of the companies who were to present their demands and objections to a board of decisors, consisting of eight members four appointed by the king and four by the states. The English decisors were the Lords Sunderland, Clarendon, Rochester and Middleton. The Dutch were likewise of high rank* and four directors of their company † were opposed to Sir Joseph Wise the governor Sir Josiah Child the deputy governor Sir John Bathurst and Sir Jeremy Sambrooke directors of the English company. The process was held in London to which the Dutch directors and decisors repaired. The allegations and testimonies were all presented in writing and the first was delivered by the Dutch directors on the 2nd of May 1685 but after sixteen answers and replies besides much more in proofs and arguments nothing was decided in January 1686 when from the cessation of the pleas, we suppose the Dutch representatives returned to Holland where we find the negotiation renewed by the Marquis D'Abbeville, in August 1687 with additional complaints of new violences committed at Gomeroon Metchlepataam and on the Malabar coast. But still no reparation was made and probably no

* Lord Anth. Heinsius, councillor and pensionary of the city of Delft, John Goet, lord of Alkemade, councilor of the city of Leyden; Isaac Vander Heuvel, councillor; Adriaan d' Ikkerveld Vander Hooge, senator of the supreme court of Holland.

† The Heer Gerrard Hoest of the council of Amsterdam; Jacob Van Hoorn of the council of Flushing; Solomon Van de Blocquen and Adrian Paets, of the council of Rotterdam.

longer

longer urged by the councils of England, agitating with the Dutch a revolution of very different import^{*}

srcr

T

The pleas of the two companies appear in two publications. The one intitled, "A Jusification of the Directors of the Netherlands company, as delivered to the States General the 22nd of July 1686, touching the affair of *Bantam*, and other controversies at *Macassar*, and on the coast of *Malabar*, and at *Gambon*, with a justification in answer to several memorials lately given to the States General by the Marquis of Albeville, touching *Malipatam* and other parts of *India*" The whole factum is dated the 4th of October 1687, and was translated into French, and miserable English. It is a dull and conceited performance, and was answered by "An impartial VINDICATION of the English East India company from the unjust and slanderous imputations cast upon them in a treatise, intitled, A Justification of the Directors of the Netherlands East India company, &c" London, 1678. The Dutch treatise was annexed to the English vindication†, in which are several positions which, without his name, sufficiently indicate the knowledge and good sense of Sir Josiah Child, whose opinions‡ concerning the commerce of India, although continually cla-

* See ADDITIONAL NOTE concerning the expulsion of the English from Macassar in 1670, and from Bantam in 1682, page 277

† Both were printed together, London 1678, octavo

‡ Published in a treatise, intitled, The East India trade a most profitable trade to the nation London, 1677, quarto

secret I moured against, have not been confuted by the experience
of a century

The Dutch company denied the accusation of having insti-
gated the young king to expel the English from BANTAM
and insisted that it proceeded naturally from his resentment
of the assistance which the English had given his father
when besieging him until routed by the Dutch forces from
Bantam. It was impossible at that time to prove the insti-
gation by positive witnesses or documents but the conse-
quences left no doubt, for they got both kings into their
power confuted the father and kept the young king in sub-
jection under their own guards, allowing him indeed a main-
tenance, with some representation but obliging him to
authenticate whatsoever regulations they thought proper to
make in the government. The whole kingdom of Bantam
was sensible of this condition, even whilst the commissioners
were disputing in London, as appears by the relation which
father TACHARD the jesuit has published of the embassy sent
by LOUIS the XIVTH to the king of SIAM. The two ships
which escorted Monsieur de Chaumont*, put into Bantam
in August 1685 and were denied all communication with
the shore but acquired sufficient knowledge to ascribe the
revolution to the same arts and motives as were alledged at
this very time by the directors of the English company in

* The ambassador

London.

London The Chevalier FORBIN, in his ingenuous memoirs of his own life, agrees with father Tachard on this subject, although on no other concerning the splendid and non-sensical embassy in which they were employed

Sect. I

Nothing is said of the military operations of the revolution, either by Forbin or Tachard, and very little by either of the two companies but they are amply, although not distinctly, related by FRYKE* the surgeon, who served through the war, and continued at Bantam eighteen months after it ended An army of three thousand Europeans and five thousand natives marched by land from Batavia, fighting their way, and opposed by fortresses, whilst twenty-two ships, with many small vessels, co-operated from the sea but the credit of FRYKE's relation is much impaired by his exaggerations of the slaughter, for, according to his account, not less than forty thousand Javans were slain in the different fights and engagements, of the Europeans with the Dutch, only five hundred

Fyke has expressed his opinion of this revolution with much simplicity After the war, "the Javans," he says, could "hardly bear the Hollanders for a great while, and truly

* FRIKE sailed for Batavia in May 1680, and returned to Holland in August 1685 His voyage is translated, and published in London, 1700 (octavo) together with SCHEWITZER's, who went from Holland in the beginning of 1675, and returned in August 1682 We particularize the terms which the different writers we mention continued abroad, that such of our readers who wish to investigate any portions of the history of India, may know where to seek cotemporary authorities

ACT ¹ " their antipathy against us was not wholly without some grounds seeing that we being foreigners, had invaded their territories, and taken possession of all they had and then lorded it over them They being a very silly sort of people,
" had no other way to shew their spite and resentment than
" by making mouths at the Dutch as they passed by and sometimes spitting upon them—of which they were cured by a good box on the ear

Admiral TACK was all this while lodged in the apartment which before belonged to the ex-king, where the young king used to come and visit him almost every day and maintained a faithful friendship with him In a little time, things being settled a proposal was made to the young king by the Dutch that if he would resign intirely all claim of power and jurisdiction over his people, custom &c. they would allow him such a sum as would enable him to keep up his grandeur and live like a king, (a titular one " that is) and would be obliged to pay him some thousands " of gilders every month To this he condescended whether " through fear or indifference I cannot well say and a certain pension was likewise settled upon his two young " princes all which was paid according to agreement. The " rest of the nobility and chief of the land remained in pos- session of their goods and lands as before, only that they were now subject to the Dutch government. Thus the " Dutch compassed their whole design by force and policy " and

“ and by fair means became masters of that kingdom, which
“ was and had been so long flourishing, and famous for its
“ vast trade and traffic, and that in so little time as from
“ 1682 to 1685 That I believe history will hardly afford
“ an instance of a more sudden change of affairs in so great
“ a kingdom”

SECT.
I

Tryke, although a German, had no prejudices against the Dutch company, but frequently admires the policy and regularity of their government

The armament which the English company prepared to recover Bantam, enabled them afterwards to engage in other wars

Facto^rs were left at Bantam by Sir James Lancaster, in the first voyage made on the company's account to the East Indies. He sailed from Bantam, on his return to England, in February 1603[‡], but the regular factory, which continued until the expulsion under notice, was established by captain Keeling, in 1609†

ADDITIONAL NOTE

AUTHORITIES for the date of the expulsion of the English from Macassar in 1670, are,

i The treaty between Matzuyher, general of Batavia, with the king of Macassar, dated in November 1667, in which treaty the king engageth to expel the Portuguese, and the English with them

* Purchas, in his PILGRIMUS, vol 1, page 162

† Idem, page 204

‡ In-

SECT I. In the *Justification of the Dutch East India company* printed London 1688 in octavo p 46 47 which *Justification* is dated October the 4th 1687 they wonder the English dare to publish that the English were secluded from the commerce of Macassar by a *contract* with those people, as printed at Batavia in November 1667—because all former subjects of complaint were given to oblivion by the treaty or agreement of 1671 and two treaties before this agreement—because the Dutch can justify to the world their right of making such contracts,—because the *contract* in question was made during the war with England or at least before the peace concluded in 1667 was or could be known in the Indies, or at Macassar

And now says the Dutch writer the English make complaints (on this subject of Macassar) eighteen years after

Eighteen years back from the 4th of October 1687 carries us up to October 1669 allow eighteen to be meant as a general number we may conclude for the year 1670 as we have said.

BURNET under the year 1684 mentions the business of Bantam as follows — A quarrel was depending between the English and the Dutch East India company The Dutch had a mind to drive us out of Bantam for they did not love to see the English settle so near Batavia So they engaged the old king of Bantam into a war with his son who was in possession of Bantam and the son was supported by the English Bat

the old king drove out his son, by the help that the Dutch gave him, and he drove out the English likewise, as having espoused his son's rebellion against him, though we understood that he had resigned the kingdom to his son, but that by the instigation of the Dutch he had now invaded him. It is certain, our court laid up this in their heart, as that upon which they would lay the foundation of a new war with the states, as soon as we should be in a condition to undertake it. The East India company saw this, and that the court pressed them to make public remonstrances upon it, which gave a jealousy of an ill design under it. So they resolved to proceed, rather in a very slow negotiation, than in any thing, that might give a handle to a rupture."

Farther on, under the year 1688, Burnet says, "I begin the year with Albeville's negotiation after his coming to the Hague. He had, before his going over, given in a threatening memorial upon the business of Bantam, that looked like a prelude to a declaration of war, for he demanded a present answer, since the king could no longer bear the injustice done him in that matter, which was set forth in very high words. He sent this memorial to be printed at Amstel-dam, before he had communicated it to the states. The chief effect that this had, was, that the actions of the company did sink for some days, but they rose soon again. and by this, it was said, that Albeville himself made the greatest

SECT.
I

SECRET greatest gain. The East India fleet was then expected home every day so the merchants, who remembered well the business of the Smyrna fleet in the year seventy-two did apprehend that the king had sent a fleet to intercept them and that this memorial was intended only to prepare an apology for that breach when it should happen but nothing of that sort followed upon it. The states did answer this memorial with another that was firm but more decently expressed. By their last treaty with England it was provided that in case any disputes should arise between the merchants of either side, commissioners should be named on both sides, to hear and judge the matter. The king had not yet named any of his side so that the delay lay at his door they were therefore amazed to receive a memorial in so high a strain since they had done all that by the treaty was incumbent on them Albecville after this gave in another memorial, in which he desired them to send over commissioners for ending that dispute. But though this was a great fall from the height in which the former memorial was conceived yet in this the thing was so ill apprehended that the Dutch had reason to believe that the king's ministers did not know the treaty or were not at leisure to read it for according to the treaty and the present posture of that business, the king was obliged to send over commissioners to the Hague to judge of that affair. When this memorial was answered and the treaty was examined the matter was let fall."

SRCI

I

NOTE LXXIII

Page 129, line 6 *Chacft Khan*]—We find, in a Bengal record of the year 1687, that he came into the province as nabob, in the year 1666, he kept his court at Dacca, and by other injustices provoked the war of Job Chanock *

*Some account of Job Chanock from Mr. Orme's
manuscript collection*

Job Chanock was appointed by the English East India Company, governor of their factory at Golgot near Hughley, where a quarrel arose with the king's people, upon a soldier's going to buy mutton As the dispute ran very high, Job Chanock wrote to Madras for a strong reinforcement of men, which was accordingly sent him These troops were quartered at a little distance in the day-time, and privately drawn into the fort at night, unknown to any but the garrison Thus strengthened, Job Chanock meditated revenge, and commenced hostilities against the king's people, by attacking Abdul Gunee, the phousdar of Hughley, who being discomfited in the first day's fight, fled a considerable way, and sent an account of his proceedings to the king On receipt of this letter, the king detached twenty-two Jemidars, with a

* See The Military Transactions in Indostan, vol ii page 12

great body of horse and musketeers, to his assistance. Upon this junction the phousdar held a council of war in consequence of which the army was divided into two equal parts, one of which was stationed at Hughley and the other sent to Tillaipurrah near Ghurety garden and Tannah fort near Surmans. These parties were furnished with iron chains, which they stretched across the river to obstruct the passage of vessels. Job Chanock on advice of this step abandoned the fort, and embarked all the troops, stores, and baggage, on board his shipping he himself went in a budgerow ordering his people to fire the villages on both sides the river. When he came to Tillaipurrah he broke the chain and being fired upon by the king's people, from both shores, returned it from his fleet and landed a small body to keep them in play. In this manner he fought his way down to Tannahs fort, where he forced the second chain. Here the king's people halted and Job Chanock dropt down to Ingelee. A few days after, the Bengal king marched down against the southern king. When he reached the southern country Job Chanock went, attended by Benjah Gungaroo Beyah Bosman and Dr Chundersecker to prefer a petition to his majesty which was delivered by a vacqueel, who had instructions to be very loud in his complaints the moment the fleet began to fire which he was to tell the king was a salute in compliment to his majesty. The king then required what was the pur port of his business to which he replied, that the English company

company had sent Mr Chanock out as governor of their factory at Golgot, to conduct their trade under his majesty's protection, but that the nabob and the phousdai of Hughley had, upon a slight dispute about some meat, taken these violent measures, and driven them down to Ingelee, where, adds the vacqueel, my master pays his devours to your majesty by a discharge of all his cannon. The king, having heard this story, ordered him to bring his master into the royal presence. The vacqueel having reported the substance of his conscience with the king, and his order for Mr Chanock's appearing in person, Mr Chanock made the vacqueel a handsome present, and ordered his army to attend him to the king, by way of Asswaree. Job made a salam kooris, or low obeisance, every second step he advanced, and stood with folded arms beside his majesty, who promised to do him justice. At this juncture some of the king's people whispered him, that his provisions were quite expended, which Job Chanock observing created much uneasiness in his majesty, ordered his people privately to bring an ample supply of every kind, from his fleet, which he presented to the king. This hospitable, generous act, so won upon his majesty, that he desired him to ask what he had to solicit in return. Job replied, the first command he requested his majesty to lay upon him, was, to order him to defeat his enemies. The king cheerfully accepting this offer, he quitted the presence instantly, and joining a few of the king's troops with his own, marched

fleet immediately against and routed the enemy, and then paid his respects to the king again who loaded him with presents, and granted him a perwannah for Calcutta. After this victory the king returned to Delhi and Job Charnock took possession of Calcutta which after clearing of the jungles, he fortified. That, or the succeeding year some gentlemen came out with a recruit of stores and soldiers. Job Charnock upon the arrival of this fleet, sent the king a very handsome present of European things, under charge of his vaqueel, Dr Chunderseeker his physician and two or three other gentlemen. When they reached Delhi they learnt that the king lay so dangerously ill, that none but his physicians were admitted into his presence. The ambassadors, considering what could under this dilemma be done in execution of their commission, determined to wait upon the vizier, who told them his majesty was sorely tormented with caruncles, which his physicians could not cure, and that all access had been denied to him on that account. One of the English gentlemen who was a physician undertook the task and was conducted by the vizier to the king, whom he made a perfect cure of to the inexpressible joy of the whole court. He was honoured with a gentle gratification and received a present for the company accompanied with a pleraund excusing them from all duties. The ambassadors, thinking this total exemption from duties might give umbrage to some succeeding Shiks, preferred a petition desiring they might pay a quit.

quit-ent, or small annual consideration, which being agreed to by the king, they returned to Calcutta

SECT.
I.

NOTE LXXIV

Page 138, line 1 *Charles the second*]—This ship was the admiral of the fleet intended against Bantam.

NOTE LXXV.

Page 143, line 8 *To make then ablutions at Nasli Tirmecch*]—Read Nassick Tirmeek According to our MSS of the DICSIV, TIRMECK is a pungannah or district of SANGAMNI R, which is one of the CIRCARS or governments of the SUBAH or province of AURUNGABAD “The river GUNGARI comes from the mountains of Concan, on which Tirmeek is built, and passeth through the middle of the cincas of Sangamnei, to Goulchonabad, commonly called Naslick, the distance twenty cos, below which the bed of the river becomes much broader Numbers of Hindoos resort every year from the most distant parts, to wash at Tirmeek on the day that the sun enters the Scorpion Every twelfth year the multitude is much greater, and some come on every day in every year The tax levied on these pilgrims amounts to a great sum, and belongs to the kellidan, or governor, of the fort of Tirmeek The Hindoos prefer thus

sect I " this place for their purifications, because the Gungah has its source here. In the rock out of which it springs has been fashioned the head of a cow" The same has been said by Tamerlane's historian of the rock of Toghipoor where the great Ganges enters Indostan.

N O T E LXXXVI

Page 144 line 14 *Gocuck, Hubely and several other towns of note, surrendered without resistance and the stronger citadel of Darwar with little* From hence he (Sultan Maurum) advanced thirty miles farther to *Guduck which is sixty from Vimapore*]—We speak from the letters of the time, written by the English factory at Carwar to the presidency of Surat. Hubely is ascertained in note xxvii page 208 and we find **GOCUCK DARWAR and GUDUCK** in our map of the Decan under the kingdom of Vimapore, in which Bancapore is noted as a circuit or government. It saith,

CIRCUIT OF BANKAPOUR

" Contains sixteen purgunnahs the adjacencies of Bankapour
 " Karoh Lakmir Kamiran Goundkoul Raimouli Nerengal
 " Ramah, Angal, Nasurabad or DARVAR Aribara Mahapour
 " Bafferikankona GUDUCK Tatunil March
 " To the east, the woods which the Toubadra separates
 " from the country of Sera to the north, the purgunnahs of
 " Bloudgal, and Nourgal to the west Azawmagur; to the
 " south,

" south, the circar of Mahammadnagui, through which
" passeth the river Vaidah"

SECT.

I

We do not find *Moudgal* either as a purgannah, or circar of Viziapore, and suppose the word an error of the copyist, but *Noungal* is a circar of Viziapore, and, as well as part of Azamnagur, stretcheth to the north of Bancapore, dividing this from the circar of Raibaug, and under Azamnagur we find *Gocuck* as a circar, of which the town in question is the head place.

N O T E LXXVII.

Page 145, line 22 *In October (1685) he sent off a body of six thousand horse from Raner, which crossed the Tapti and Nerbeddah, and assaulted the city of Broach, within a few hours after their approach was known*]—We have this from the English factors in the town, writing in the hour of alarm to the presidency of Suiat

The territory of BROACH was well able to have maintained the ward of the city, producing at this time, as it had for a century before, more manufactures, and of the finest fabrics, than the same extent of country in any other part of the empire, not excepting Bengal. Accordingly we find the English agents resorting to Broach, as soon as they were permitted to have a factory in Surat.

The

SECT I The importance of the company's establishment at Surat having induced us to trace the events by which it was obtained and confirmed we shall give the account apart at the end of this section of our Notes.*

The investment for England provided at Broach, in the year 1685 consisted of

17 000 pieces broad baftas v.

9 000 white, }
4 000 blue, } of the usual lengths and breadths.

4 000 black such as the Dutch provided for the Europe markets.

4 000 pieces sevnguzzies, white

9 000 pieces baftas, narrow white.

4 000 pieces tapestries, broad

6 000 pieces nicannees, 15 yards long

15 000 pieces of Guinea stuffs.

55 000 pieces.

N O T E LXXVIII

Page 147 line 15 *Malquer*]—is not mentioned in any map but *MANOUCRI* from whom alone *CATNOV* can have

* This curious Tract was not finished by the author what was printed off in his life time in octavo but never published, is reprinted and inserted at the end of these Notes.

taken

taken it, is right. For we find in our MSS of the Deccan, MALKAR as the head place of a circar or government in the province of BRDJAR, and extending between CALBERGA and GOLCONDH. We translate

“ CIRCAR OF MOUZAFERNAGAR ”

“ This circar, which is more commonly called MALKAR,
“ has fourteen purgunnahs.

“ The adjacencies of Mouzafernagar, Karimow, Neigounda,
“ Mangalgun, Kaukoum, Sindam Konki, Sanow, Koudoun,
“ Adjouli, Ounthour, Manhael, Doumer, Amedjena

“ These purgunnahs have one hundred and nine villages,
“ which give to the treasury 1,091,196 rupees, 2 annaas :

“ To the east of this *circar*, that of GOLCONDAH, to the
“ north, BEDER (meaning the city), to the west, Kanjoum, of
“ the circar of Naldowouch, and the circar of KALBERGA, to
“ the south, the soubah of Viziapore* ”

“ The *Bimra* cometh from the circar of Naldowouch into
“ this circar of MALKAR, and from hence into the soubah
“ of Viziapore. The river of *Kakna*, which cometh from
“ BLRAR, and passeth near *Kaliam*, enters this circar,
“ from whence it flows to join the *Bimra*, which afterwards
“ passeth below *Ferouzeabad*, and from thence to the fort
“ of Bidnour ”

* By which it should seem, that both Malkar and Calberga lie to the north
of Viziapore

~~SECRET~~ We likewise find in the account of the next circuit of Ferouzgur which is a fort on a mountain that MALKAR stands twelve eoss to the northward of Ferouzgur
~~I~~

None of these subordinate places are in any of the maps hitherto published nor can their situations be ascertained with any degree of justness, from the documents concerning them in the MSS. of the Decan Mr D'Anville has not even ventured to give CALBERGA

N O T E LXXIV

Page 147 line 19 *Ibrahim Khan.*]—The defection of Ibrahim Khan related by Manouchu, is confirmed by the letters of the agents at Madras whom he corresponded with and befriended, when in power at Golcondah and afterwards endeavoured to do them service with Aurengzebe

N O T E LXXX

Page 148 line 16 *The city of Vizapore was extensive and capable of some defence and had a citadel of greater strength.*]—The descriptions given of Vizapore differ

Tavernier who was there in 1648 says, “Vizapore is a kind of great village which has nothing remarkable either in the public edifices or in regard to trade. The palace of the King

king is sufficiently extensive, but ill built, nevertheless the approach to it is difficult, because the ditches which surround it are full of water, and stord with crocodiles”

Bernier says, “That Viziapore is very strong, but situated in a bad dry country, which has scarcely any good water, excepting what is within the city”

Baldæus, speaking of the kingdom of Viziapore, says, “ Its capital city, which bears the same name, lies seventy leagues beyond Goa, eighty from Dabul, and is said to be five leagues in compass, with very strong walls, and five noble gates, on which are mounted above a thousand brass and iron pieces of great cannon They tell us, among these there is one carrying no less than five hundred and forty pounds weight of gunpowder, cast by a certain Italian, a native of Rome, who, being questioned by one of the king’s commissioners concerning the money he had disbursed on this account, threw him into the same hole where he had cast the cannon before*”

M. Thevenot says, “The city of Viziapore is more than four or five leagues in circumference, it is inclosed by a double wall, provided with a quantity of cannon, and by a ditch, a fond de cuve The palace of the king is in the middle of the city, and it is likewise surrounded by a ditch full of water, in which are some crocodiles This city has

* Baldæus, in Churchill’s collection, vol iii p 540

SECT I " several large suburbs, filled with shops of goldsmiths and jewellers besides which there is little other trade, and little else to remark."

Neither Bernier Baldeus nor Therenot had ever been at Viziapore nor do we know of any person now living who has for the marches of Mr Bussy* when serving in the Decan, never came much nearer to it than Calberga but there may be some Portuguese priests who have seen it, in their missionary journeys to and from Goa

N O T E LXXXI

Page 150 line 7 *The king of Persia received him with all the attentions suitable to his high birth and fallen estate*]—Kœmpfer in his Amoenitates Exoticæ says That Ecbar arrived in that part of Arabia bordering on Persia, in the beginning of the year 1687 and that the governor of Lar had like to have lost his head for neglecting to give early intelligence to the king of Ecbar's arrival and that Ecbar arrived at Ispahan on the 24th of January 1688 and that the King went out to meet him near the city in a style of magnificence usual at the reception of sovereigns.

Gentil says, that on the 2nd of April 1686 Aurengzebe received an envoy from his son Aobar who had retired into

See the map of his marches in the Decan; given to us and inserted at page 3 of the Fragments.

Persia The envoy offered to Auiengzebe two Persian horses, SECT
I
and asked pardon for his son

N O T E LXXXII

Page 152, line 2 *Calberga*]—In our MSS which is a later arrangement of the Decan, *Calberga* is rated as a government under *Viziapore*, with the following account of it, according to our own translation, for the text is not very clear

“ CIRCAR OR ASSENABAD

“ This cincar, which is also named KALBERGA, has only
“ one purgunnah, of the same name, KALBERGA, which
“ contains two hundred and eighty-eight villages they give
“ 737, 117 rupees, 13 annaes and ¼ to the treasury

“ The fortess of KALBERGA is in a plain, it is surrounded
“ with good ditches, which may be filled from a neigh-
“ bouring tank

“ Before the introduction of Mahomedanism, the HINDOOS
“ had within the fortress a great temple, which the Mussul-
“ men have destroyed, and with the materials built a magni-
“ ficent mosque, which exists at this day it is one of the
“ largest and best constructed in the Decan There was
“ formerly, between the fortress and Sultanpour, at two cos
“ distance, a market, where every thing that could be re-
“ quired, was sold it exists no longer, since the continual
“ troubles

SECT I
 " troubles which have reigned in the Decan. Without the
 fortress is the tomb of Sulekernudje, where are some houses.
 " To the west is the quarter of the Bramans where one
 " named Kongoy first began to build and in course of time
 " the Hindoos, by degrees, have fixed their abode here
 " Between the fort and the tomb of a celebrated musulman,
 " has been raised a town, to which he has given his name,
 Mogdounabad. This pir (or saint) was called Mogdoun
 " Sayed Mahomed Guesouderage. Towards the end of the
 " reign of the Sultan Togoul Schah all the lords of the
 " Decan whom he had subdued unable to support or resist
 " his tyranny retired to the frontiers, where, having made
 " some establishments, they raised troops. The most consi-
 derable amongst them was Aissen Kongoy Bamani sur-
 named Mousafir Khan who first got possession not without
 " good fortune, of Raibague and Maitchit*. These successes
 " having increased his forces, he advanced against Kal-
 " berga and having killed the governor (who held it
 " for Togoul Schah) in a skirmish the place surrendered to
 " him. On which all the fugitive lords united their forces,
 " recovered the Decan and acknowledged Aissen Kongoy
 " Bamani their sovereign with the title of Sultan Alaoudin
 " And this prince the first of the Bamans, gave the
 " name of ASSENABAD to KALBERGA which he rendered
 " flourishing and made his capital in the year 748 of the

Perhaps Mirdit. See the map.

" Hegira

“ Hegira, A C 1347 Magdoun Sayed Mahomed Guesou-
“ derage, the famous saint, came from the Indus to Kalberga,
“ in the year 915 of the Hegira, A C 1544, in the time of
“ Firouz Schah Bamani, and had the address to engage the bro-
“ ther of this prince to become his disciple, and build him a
“ fine house The Sultan Firouz Schah, from affection to his
“ son, was desirous of resigning the crown to him, and con-
“ sulted Mogdoun, who advised him to give it to his bro-
“ ther, Ahmed Schah, as much more capable of governing
“ the kingdom , to which the Sultan replied, that this counsel
“ was the price of the house, and the effect of his desire to
“ have a king devoted to himself Mogdoun, stung by the
“ reproach, quitted the house, and came to dwell where his
“ tomb now stands After the death of Frouz Schah, his
“ brother Ahmed Schah succeeded to the throne, when the
“ house of Mogdoun became so much resorted to, that by
“ degrees a town was built about it, which is the Mogdou-
“ nabad above mentioned The credit of Mogdoun became
“ so great under Ahmed Schah, who had been, and conti-
“ nued to profess himself his disciple, that from the lord to
“ the artificer, all made it their glory to enlist themselves
“ under his instruction Nothing was done without him
“ After his death, Ahmed Schah came to Beder, and made
“ this city his capital The Bima passeth within six cos-
“ of Kalberga

SECT
I

“ To

SECT ' To the east of KALBERGA Ferousegara to the north
I Kandjoli, a purgannah of Naldourouck to the west the
 " fort of Naldourouck to the south the fort of Sakkar
 " upon a mountain dependant on Naldourouck where
 passeth the Bimra'

From KALEERGA

To the fort of Sakkar twenty cos.
 To Naldourouck & w twenty four cos.
 To Angousteri, n twenty cos.
 To Pefgouri Metkal, n thirty cos.
 To the purgannah of Balgur n & twenty four cos.
 To Valenigarah thirty cos.
 To BEDER thirty cos.
 To KALIANI twenty cos.
 To the purgannah of Kandjoli twenty cos.
 To the purgannah of Tehut Kola twenty cos.

N O T E LXXVIII

Page 153 line 22 It was on the 27th of September]—
 No account has hitherto ascertained the time when Golcondah was taken by the Mogul's army there have been doubts even of the year But it is ascertained by a letter to Mr Hale the governor of Madras, from Ahadzaed Caun and Walledzaed Caun two officers of Golcondah in the Conqueror's country This letter is dated the 15th of October 1687,

and says, "We are informed this day, that the Mogul took Golcondah eighteen days since, and that the Mogul has given the Carnatic country government to Mahomed Ebrahim, who is coming down to possess himself of it" Thus Mahomed Ebrahim is the Ibrahim Khan mentioned before in Note LXXXIV, page 290.

NOTE LXXXIV

Page 154, line 21 *We formerly placed this Revolution in 1680*]—In the history of the military transactions, first published in the year 1763, we have said,

" In the year 1680, the king of Tanjore, attacked and well nigh overpowered by the king of Trichinopoly, called the Morattoes to his assistance. The famous Sevagee, who at that time reigned over all the Morattoe nations, sent his brother with a strong army, which soon left the king of Tanjore nothing to fear from his enemy, but every thing from these free-booters, for they made out so large an account of expences, that all the riches in the kingdom would have been insufficient to discharge what they demanded. Under pretence therefore of collecting this money, they took possession of the government, and shortly after, the brother of Sevagee declared himself king of Tanjore. He reigned six years, and left three sons "*

* See The Military Transactions in Indostan, vol 1 page 108 of the fourth edition, 1803

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS [Notes.

to the EAST of KALDEROU Ferouzegara to the NORTH
djoh, a purgannah of Naldourouck to the WEST the ,
of Naldourouck to the SOUTH the fort of Sakkar
a mountain dependant on Naldourouck where
eth the *Bimra*"

From KALDEROU.

the fort of Sakkar twenty coh.

Naldourouck, & w twenty four coh.

Dingousteri, x twenty coh

Pesgouri Metkal, x. thirty coh

the purgannah of Balgur x x twenty-four coh.

'alemgarah thirty coh.

BEDEN, thirty coh.

KALTANI, twenty coh.

the purgannah of Kandjoli twenty coh.

the purgannah of Tchit Koka twenty coh.

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* See The Military Transactions in Indostan, vol 1 page 108 of the fourth edition, 1803

SECT
I

We received this information from a person who was concerned in the expedition undertaken in favour of a pretender, by Fort St. David against the king of Tanjore in 1749. But our later researches leave us no right to think that Eccogi entered Tanjore in 1680. And at whatsoever time he made the conquest, it appears doubtful whether he was acting as a member or officer of the Morattoe government.

The objection which first and immediately occurs to the date of 1680 is the death of Sevagi which happened in the early part of this very year* and the perplexity which ensued and continued for a while, in the Morattoe government in consequence of this event, seems sufficient to have stopped the prosecution of an expedition of such importance as Eccogi's, whatsoever arrangements might have been made to promote it before Sevagi died. Nevertheless, this objection if unsupported by others, would not alone consute the date in question.

We have no cotemporary records during the period in which even their silence on the resolution of Eccogi would have been presumptive evidence that he was not acting in the Tanjore country during the year 1680 for although the company's agents at this time troubled themselves very little with enquiries which did not immediately concern the interests of their commerce and settlements, yet these attentions were sometimes affected by the general events of the country which accordingly received mention in their corre-

* See page 90 and note LIX.

spondence

spondence with the natives, then own servants, and other Europeans * When Mr Elihu Yale was sent, in December 1681, to treat with Haigee Rajah for a settlement at Cuddalore, he went first to Porto Novo, in order to settle the terms of his reception, and the presents he was to make at Gingee, and the council of Madras wrote to him, December the 28th, complaining that the presents expected were intolerable, and permit him, in consequence of a suggestion from himself, to treat with the agent of the NAIGUR OF TANJORE (who seems to have been at Porto Novo) for a settlement at Timiliwashi, which is in the Tanjore country

This single expression of "THE NAIGUR," is almost sufficient to determine us, that RCCOGI was not at this time the ruler of the country

The three great Naigues of Coromandel, under the ancient Gentoo sovereignty, whether of Bisnagar or Chandergherri, were Gingee, Tanjore, and Madura After the conquest of Gingee by Viziapore, about 1655, the rulers of Tanjore and Madura retained their titles of Naigue, which, although meaning a lieutenant, will not decide the degree of their dependance on Viziapore because they had long retained it with very little, on the Gentoo sovereignty of Chandergherri, and Bisnagar

The Viziapore governor of Gingee was styled the CAWN Haigee Rajah, appointed by Sevagi, after he conquered Gingee in 1677, is styled when spoken of, the GREAT SUBADAR, and

* See Fragments, page 115

SECT ¹ assumes the eminent title of **MAHÀ RAJAH** to which he had no right, nor could use to his superior Sevagi, or his successor Sambagi. We see the ruler of Tanjore in 1681 called **THE NAIGUE**. It is not probable that **RECOORI** the brother of Sevagi should after he had obtained the government or sovereignty of Tanjore, have admitted or have been designated by a title so inferior in phrase to that which had been assumed by an officer of his brother Sevagi. However admitting the contrary December 1681 presmeth so close upon the conquest of 1680 that we must suppose he would at that time have been distinguished by some epithet, significant of the lateness of his accession to the government instead of being simply called *The Naigue* as if he were the ruler of the ancient line whom he had just dispossessed.

We have likewise said as in the extract above cited that he reigned *six years* but his reign must have extended longer if he were the **NAIGUE OF TANJORE** with whom Mr Yale wished to treat for Trincomali in December 1681 for we find him alive from an authentic record in September 1688.

We therefore relinquish our position of 1680 but are yet to seek the time of his death as well as of his accession to the government of Tanjore and the nature of his tenure.

A late publication* supplied with documents out of our reach saith

The History and Management of the East India Company London,
1st quarto.

" Some

Sect
I.

" Some time after the reduction of Bijapur (commonly called " Vizipore) over Lekoyi, and other Marattas, servants to
" the dethroned King, fled, with a few troops, from the per-
" secution of the Moguls, and established themselves at Gingee,
" in the Carnatic. Some differences subsisting at that time
" between Wagira, the Naug of Tanjore, and Tumul, Naug
" of Madura and Trichinopoly, the former applied to
" Lekoyi for assistance, but the treacherous Maratta seized
" the government he had been called to defend. The
" unfortunate Wagira was forced to fly, and take refuge in
" Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore. This revolution
" in the government of Tanjore, happened about the year
" 1696.]

" Lekoyi, not content with his acquisition of Tanjore,
" began to extend his territories, and to give assistance to
" rebels though he owned himself its subject. His death,
" which happened about the year 1702, transferred the ven-
" geance prepared for him by the Moguls, to his son, and
" successor, Shiwo-pi, or Suhu-pi," &c

The notes which accompany the portion we have ex-
tracted, are,

* to *Mysore*]—Wagira had a son, Chingul Muldas, whose son, the grand-
son of Wagira, there called Naug, is still living in or near Seringapatam.

† to 1696]—Authentic MS. account of Tanjore, taken on the spot, and now
in the hands of the author of this disquisition, &c. Culnamma of Zulfucar
Cron. Nobobs papers, vol. i page 31."

SECT
I

The date of 1696 ascribed to the revolution must be an oversight.

Shah-Gi* was the father of Sambagi Eccoci and the famous Sevagi all had employment under the government of Viziapore in which Sambagi and Eccogi continued after the revolt of their brother. What became of Sambagi we have not learnt but admit, that Eccoci remained in the service of Viziapore, if not until the fall at least until he despaired of the kingdom.

The city of Viziapore was taken at the earliest in June 1686 the king perhaps a month or two after. We have a letter from Madras to Cuddalore which shows that Eccogi was considered as the ruler of Tanjore in September 1687. It is the first and only mention we find of him in this year for although we have not the letters received before July we have the letters written by Madras from the beginning of the year. Hence it follows, that if Eccoci came to Gingee *some time after the reduction of Viziapore* the revolution by which he acquired Tanjore must have been accomplished in the space of six or seven months at most which however might be if there were much treachery and little resistance.

That Eccogi should have brought with him a body of Morattoo troops, is not improbable for being a Hindoo the troops of his command in the service of Viziapore were in all likelihood of the same distinction and no where nearer

* Now according to M. Gentil's MS. in French. See pp. 170 & 171.

to make his levies, than in the countries which spoke the Morattoe language, not that we suppose they were of the same hardness and activity as the cavalry of the Morattoe government, established by Sevagi

SIC. I

That Ecogi, with his Morattoes, should have *established* themselves (in the strict sense of the word) at Gingee, is impossible, for we find Hargi Rajah, Sambagi's vicegerent, governing there with as full authority, in the beginning of 1687, as when Mr. Vale was sent to treat with him for a factory at Cuddalore, at the end of 1681.

We have little of Madras during the interval between 1681 and the beginning of 1687, or might otherwise have discovered this dubious date of Ecogi's expedition into Tanjore—but if conjecture might be substituted to the defect of record, it would be no improbable account to suppose, that

“ SAMBAGI the son of SEVAGI, and his successor in the
“ sovereignty of the Morattoe state, was in correspondence
“ with his uncle ECOGI who, instead of waiting, as is said,
“ until *some time after the reduction of Trinapore*, went off, as
“ several other commanders did, before the city was invested,
“ and came with recommendations from his nephew, to
“ Hargi Rajah, at Gingee, who accordingly permitted him
“ to advance, and encamp near the fortlets, and accommodated him in other respects. This reception, at the distance

SECT I " tance of a century may have been mistaken, by cursory enquiry for an establishment made by Eccogi at Gingee.
 " The rest naturally follows. The war existing on the other side of the Coleroon found employment for Eccogi who, successful against Trichinopoly seized the government of Tanjore." All this might have happened in the latter half of 1685 and the first of 1686

By the *rebels* whom Eccogi assisted after his acquisition of Tanjore we suppose are meant the Morattoes of Gingee and we were surprised not to find this confederacy as soon as the Mogul troops began to approach the Carnatic but until the end of 1688, neither Eccogi nor any officer seeming to belong to him, appears taking any part in the hostilities we have mentioned They may afterwards and should we find them so acting, will give some light to two or three years of obscurity

The death of Eccogi, imputed to 1702 is another oversight For in the same publication his successor Subaji appears reigning in 1695 We remark that the two mistaken dates of 1696 and 1702 ascribed to the accession and death of Eccogi give the six years which we formerly allotted to the extent of his reign

We admire that in a dispute of such importance as that which has been lately agitated between the Nabob of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore no regular history has been produced

duced of this country, from the accession of ECCOGI, who is the ancestor of the present RAJAH, not even the dates of death in the succession, nor of the hostilities, whether in the family or with their neighbours, their acknowledgments or resistance of the Mogul government. All that is necessary to know in Europe, if dates are given, might be composed in a few pages. The public acts, agreements, and treaties, would be mere translations, and, for obvious reasons, ought not to be presented in any other form.

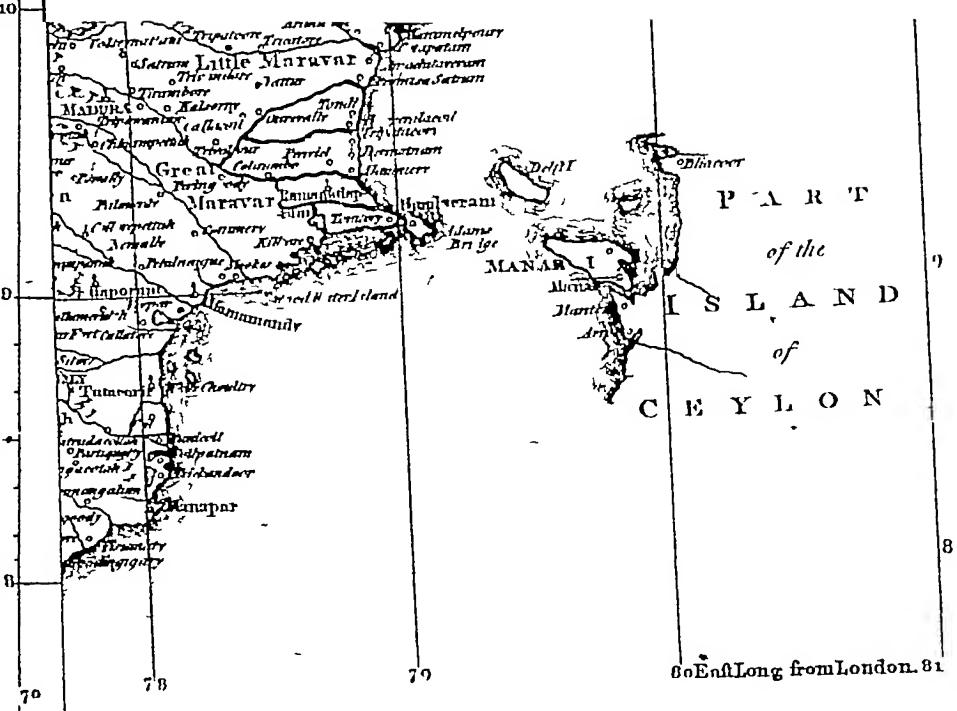
N O T E LXXXV

Page 162, line 11 [*Cabis Cawn*]—His name occurs variously spelt. In the letter which SAMBAGI wrote to Keigwin, on concluding the treaty which adjusted the terms of trade and intercourse between his western country and Bombáy, and confirmed the company's trade and factories in the Gingee country, he says, “ You shall also take notice what shall be written to you by my loving and faithful Cavy Callis,” unusual terms in the style either of the Mahomedan or Hindoo princes, unless when speaking of their sons or brothers the epithets which they give to their officers are generally expressive of the superiority of their dignity over others, and subservience to themselves.

NOTE

SECT mander of the artillery, and Buxey or paymaster-general, and the names of seven others are mentioned. The two older sons of Mahomed Azim were likewise slain, and the two others were taken prisoners. Nevertheless Azim stood his ground until he was left with only six thousand horse, which were surrounded by ten times their number; when, to avoid the inflictions of captivity and the remembrance of this fatal day he stabbed himself to the heart with his poignard.

No victory could be more decisive. *Mahomed Maurum* immediately sat on the throne, and was proclaimed with the name of Bahadar Shah, or the Victorious King which he had taken before he left Kabul*. He does not seem to have disgraced his success by any subsequent acts of cruelty or revenge.



S U B J E C T O F T H E
 N O T E S
 T O T H E
 F R A G M E N T S.

NOTE I p 165.—*Informations required from India to supply the defects of the Fragments. Importance of the period under consideration.*

NOTE II p 166.—*Peisic accounts relating to the reign of Aurengzebe*

NOTE III p 168.—*Mr Frazer*

NOTE IV p 168.—*Catrou's history of the Mogul empire Manouchi's manuscript*

NOTE V p 169.—*Scope of the Alumguirnama, one of the Peisic histories of Aurengzebe.*

NOTE VI p 170.—Aurengzebe—from Gentil's French MS.

NOTE VII p 171.—*Cotemporary accounts by Europeans, which mention Sevagi. Modern, Mr. Dow and Mr. Kerr.*

NOTE

SUBJECT OF THE NOTES

- SECT I NOTE viii p 181 — *Descent of Sevagi and of the Rajahs of Chitore*
- NOTE ix p 182 — *Affassination of the Vizinporta general by SEVAGI*
- NOTE x p 182 — *Of Pannela and its district*
- NOTE xi p 185 — *Family of Chaest Khan — Achumud ul Dowlah his grandfather — Noor Jehan his aunt wife of Jehangir — Asiph Jahi his father — Mumlaza Zemani, his sister wife of Shah Jehan — Shandavar Khan his brother whose daughter was married to Aurengzebe — Promotion of Chaest Khan by Shah Jehan — His attachment to Aurengzebe, and services to him during the revolution — By whom appointed vice roy of the Decan.*
- NOTE xii p 192 — *Chagnah taken by flying a paper kite.*
- NOTE xiii p 193 — *Sevagi's reception at Delli — His escape from thence*
- NOTE xiv p 194 — *Jenneah Ghur*
- NOTE xv p 195 — *Doubts of the date of Jysing's death.*
- NOTE xvi p 196 — *The death of Shah Abbas the second, king of Persia — The infancy of his successor*
- NOTE xvii p 197 — *The GAUTS*
- NOTE xviii p 198 — *The CORLAHS*

Note

NOTE xix. p 198 —Gingcrah.

SECT.

I

NOTE xv p 199 —Surat pillaged by Sevagi in 1669 —*The governor poisoned by Aurengzebe —Credulity of the natives, and of the travellers to India*

NOTE xxii p 201 —Sevagi dreaded in Bengal —*Troops from Behar march against him*

NOTE xxiii p 202 —*Father Navarette's narrative of Sevagi, before Goa, in 1669*

NOTE xxiv p 204 —*Father Navarette's narrative from Golcondah to Goa.—Sevagi's fleet.*

NOTE xxv p 207 —*Sevagi ravaging about Surat, in January 1671*

NOTE xxvi p 207 —*Rickloffe Van Goen*

NOTE xxvii p 208 —*French ships take shelter at Bombay.*

NOTE xxviii p 208 —*Hubely, a mart in Viziapore.*

NOTE xxix p 209 —*Trade of the English factory at Carwar, in 1676 and 1683*

NOTE xxx p 212 —*Origin of the Morattoes, according to the Mahomedans —Extent of their ancient country.*

NOTE xxx p 212.—*Fight between ten English and twenty-two Dutch ships off Pettipolly, near Masulipatam.*

NOTE

- NOTE xxxii p 213 — *Mr Oxenden's journey to Sevagi at Rauree.*
- NOTE xxxiii p 214 — *Sevagi weighed against gold at his coronation*
- NOTE xxxiii. p 214 — *Treaty between Bombay and Sevagi*
- NOTE xxxiv p 215 — *Ancient splendor of Gallian and fame of Tannah.*
- NOTE xxxv p 218 — *Chardin's narrative of the Portuguese armada in the gulph of Cambay — A ship lost in a storm — The Mogul's governor claims the wreck*
- NOTE xxxvi p 219 — *Tomb of Sultan Sujah at Sooloo*
- NOTE xxxvii p 219 — *Death of Sultan Sujah not believed.*
- NOTE xxxviii p 219 — *Chardin's account of the dispute between the Portuguese in the gulph of Persia, with the government of Persia, concerning the revenues of Congue. — Declension of the Portuguese power in India. — Pondah taken.*
- NOTE xxxix p 220 — *Sibon and other forts belonging to the Portuguese between Bassein and Daman*
- NOTE xl p 221 — *Billigong and Rayun besieged by Sevagi.*
- NOTE xli p 222 — *Peace between Sevagi and the Mogul's general previous to Sevagi's expedition into the Carnatic*

NOTE VLII. p. 224.—*The ancient kingdoms of Bisnagar and Chandergherri.*

SECT.

I

NOTE VLIII. p. 228.—*Accounts of Chandergherri by the jesuit missionaries, in 1599 and 1609.*

NOTE XLIV. p. 229.—*Foundation of Madras.*

NOTE XIV. p. 230.—*Extent of the conquests made by Viziapore, in the Carnatic—Doubt of Tanjore.*

NOTE LVII. p. 232.—*Gaudicotta taken by Emir Jumlah, when general of Golcondah.*

NOTE LVIII. p. 232.—*The king of Golcondah besieged by Aurengzebe and Emir Jumlah, submits to humble conditions.*

NOTE LXVIII. p. 233.—*The country of Gingee conquered by Sevagi.*

NOTE LXIX. p. 236.—*Aurengzebe's war against the Pitans—Manuscript history of Indostan by M. Gentil*

NOTE L. p. 237.—*Panwell, the river Penn, Abita, the river Negotan*

NOTE LI. p. 238.—*A treatise written by Sultan Darah to reconcile the Bramin with the Mahomedan religion—The Oupnekhat of M. Anquetil du Perron, an extract of the four Bedes, translated out of the Sanscrit language—Darah's preface to the Oupnekhat—His prayer to Rudei—Description of Ruder*

SUBJECT OF THE NOTES

- SECT I NOTE LII p 250 —Aurengzebo endeavours to convert the Hindoos to Mahomedanism 3 1 3
- NOTE LIII p 251 —Rebellion of an old woman against Aurengzebo. 1 1 1
- NOTE LIV p 251 —Farce of Abmir Chitore, and Jondpore, in 1770 1 1 1
- NOTE LV p 252.—Translation of a letter from the Maha Rajah Jeewonk Sing to Aurengzebo
- NOTE LVI p 256—Island of Kenary
- NOTE LVII p. 256 —The company's factory at Dongong, and investment there in 1585 1 1 1
- NOTE LVIII. p 258 —Huttany a mart in Viziapore.
- NOTE LIX p 258 —Death of Sevagi
- NOTE LX. p 260 —Funeral of Sevagi.—Wives burning with the bodies of their husbands
- NOTE LXI p 261 —Broods of the Morattoe horses.—What other broods in India.—Sevagi's army at his death
- NOTE LXII p 263 —Sevagi's intention to command his own fleet
- NOTE LXIII. p 263 —Aurengzebo compares Sevagi to the mountain rat.—Fevjoo's description of the properties of that animal

Notes

NOTE LXIV. p 261.—*Territory obtained by Scvagi on the western side of India.*

SECT.
I

NOTE LVI. p 265.—*Computed extent of his territory to the west.*

NOTE LXVI p 265.—*Sultan Aebai's expectation of the throne—His disappointment, and revolt.*

NOTE LXVII p 266.—*Date of Sultan Aebar's revolt*

NOTE LXVIII p 266.—*Pavilions of Aurengzebe.*

NOTE LXIX p 267.—*Sultan Aebai's children*

NOTE LXX. p 267.—*Arrival of Sultan Aebar in Sambagi's country*

NOTE LXXI p 270.—*Ramrajah, brother of Sambagi.*

NOTE LXXII p 270.—*English expelled from Bantam by the Dutch in 1682—Authorities for the date of the expulsion of the English from Macassar in 1670.—Extract from Burnet on the business of Bantam.*

NOTE LXXIII p 281.—*Chacst Khan's arrival as Nabob in Bengal—Some account of Job Chanock*

NOTE LXXIV p 285.—*Ship Charles the second.*

NOTE LXXV p 285.—*Nassick Tirmecck*

NOTE LXXVI p 286.—*Gocuck, Hubely, Darwar, Guduck, en car of Bancapore.*

- SECT 1 NOTE LXXVII p 287 — Broach *assaulted by Sambagi's troops*
—origin of the company's trade there and at Surat —
Inception at Broach in 1683
- NOTE LXXVIII p 288 — MALQUER *city and fortress.*
- NOTE LXXIX p 290 — Ibrahim Khan *general of Golcondah —*
his desertion and friendship to the English
- NOTE LXXX p 290 — *Descriptions of the city of Viziapore.*
- NOTE LXXXI p 292 — *The king of Persia's reception of Acbar*
- NOTE LXXXII p 293 — *Ancient account of CALBERGA*
- NOTE LXXXIII p 296 — *Date of the taking of GOLCONDAH*
- NOTE LXXXIV p 297 — *Conquest of the TANJORE COUNTRY*
by Eccogi. 112
- NOTE LXXXV p 305 — Cablis Cawn *'the traitorous favourite*
of Sambagi and companion of his death.
- NOTE LXXXVI p 306 — *Date of the death of Sambagi.—*
Death of Aurengzebe.—Decisive battle between Sultan
Mauzum and Sultan Azim.

O R I G I N
C O M P A Y
ENGLISH ESTABLISHMENT,
S P E C I A L
C O M P A N Y S T R A D E,
B R O A C H, AND AT SURAT

ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE
ENGLISH TRADE AT SURAT

THE first English ship which came to Surat, was the Hector, commanded by captain William Hawkins; who brought a letter from the company, and another from the king, James the first, to the great Mogul Jehangire, requesting the intercourse of trade

The Hector arrived at Surat in August 1608, but as in a voyage of experiment, the contingency of ill success at this port was provided for, by a farther destination of the ship to Bantam, to which several voyages had already been made, with sufficient encouragement to continue the resort

1608
Aug

At this time the Portuguese marine predominated on the western seas of India, in so much that they made prize of all vessels which had not taken their pats, and the fear of their resentment on the ships which traded from Surat to the gulphs of Arabia and Persia, deterred the Mogul's officers from giving the encouragement they might wish, to the English strangers. They, however, permitted Hawkins to land his lead and iron, with some treasure, but obliged him

so

to

1608
Sept. to buy and sell with much delay and disadvantage. In September the northern armada of the Portuguese, consisting of forty sail of grabs and gallivats came into the road, threatening to burn the city and all its vessels, if the English ship and all that belonged to her were not sent away. Hawkins hastened her dispatch, but not equal to the impatience of the Portuguese, who seized his longboat, with goods to a considerable amount, and twenty seven men, whom they kept prisoners but did not venture to attack the ship which sailed a few days after on the 5th of October for Bantam.

1609
Feb. Notwithstanding the menaces of the Portuguese, the government of Surat dared not disobey the Mogul's order that Hawkins should repair to his court. He set out for Agra on the 1st of February 1609 travelling in continual fear of poison or assassination from his attendants, at the instigation of the Portuguese, whose jealousy followed all his steps. He left behind him William Finch with three or four English domestics, to sell the remainder of what goods had been landed whom the favourable reception of Hawkins at the Mogul's court preserved from open but not from secret vexations for Mocnb Caun the governor retained his terrors, and perhaps the bribes of the Portuguese.

Sept. In September* the Ascension, coming to Surat, was wrecked at Gundavie. This ship had left England in

* The 5th.

March 1608, a month before the *Hector*, which had brought Captain Hawkins, but came last from Mocha, and was the first English ship which had ever entered the gulf of Arabia. Her crew, twenty-five men, travelled to Surat, where they were not permitted to enter the city, but Finch to maintain them in a neighbouring village. In January 1610, Finch went to Agra, on the summons of Hawkins, and from thence came over land, by Lahore and Peshawar, to England.

1610.
Jan

Sir Henry Middleton, after his captivity, escape, and retributions at Mocha, arrived with his three ships at Surat, on the 26th of September 1611. The northern armada of the Portuguese were ready stationed at the bar, and within the river, to prevent the intercourse of his boats with the city, in which no Englishmen excepting Bingham, a joiner, who had lately returned from Captain Hawkins, was remaining, all who had been saved from the Ascension having dispersed, most to get livelihood as soldiers in the country, but the few of better condition, with the captain, Sharpeigh, had repaired to Hawkins, at Agra, who seems to have been much fitter to fight the Portuguese at sea, than to counteract their intrigues at the Mogul's court, where they had jesuits of great subtlety. He accepted a wife, who however was a christian and a maiden, out of the Mogul's service, and his service, with a pension, which was very ill paid, still retaining his pretension to the character he had assumed of an ambassador from the King of England. He received frequent assurances of the

1611.
Sept

1611 privileges he solicited for the company's trade which were constantly retracted without apology. Even Mocrib Caur had been summoned to court, to be punished on his complaint but returned to Surat with greater power. At length Hawkins lost hope, and began to think of nothing else but his return to England when the relations of his wife, set on by the jesuits, forbade her departure off the shore of India; and Hawkins agreed with the same jesuits to procure a passage for them both at Goa. Fortunately, at this time news came to Agra of the arrival of Sir Henry Middleton at Surat when Hawkins formally demanded his dismission from the Mogul and requested an answer to the letter he had brought from the king which was denied but he was permitted to depart, and arrived at Cambay on the 11th of December 1611 accompanied by the brothers of his wife, to prevent him from carrying her farther Captain Sharpeigh, and what other Englishmen had joined him at Agra had gone before and came to Cambay soon after Sir Henry Middleton arrived at Surat.

In the mean time Sir Henry Middleton apprized by Bangham of the evil intentions of the government of Surat; either from their own inclination or dread of the Portuguese; seized three ships which belonged to the town and were standing in the road; and refused to release them until he had received all the Englishmen he expected. This exertion produced compliments, provisions, and promises of trade-

But, as his communication was on the open beach, the Portuguese landed the soldiers of their armada, who several times attempted to surprise his people, but never infested themselves sufficiently to hurt a single man. Bangham escaped from Surat, and all the others from Cambay, excepting Hawkins, who was not yet arrived there. Mocrib Caun, and other officers, came to the shore, visited the ships, made bargains, and cheated at the scales, which Middleton endured, still fearing harm to Hawkins, who, procuring two jesuits on mission at Cambay, to be sureties for the surrender of his wife, prevailed on her brothers to return to Agra, and then, by some scheme not explained, but suggested by Middleton, escaped with her, met escort, and arrived safely at the ships on the 26th of January 1612.

1611.

The accounts of dealing, which were to no great amount, had already been settled with the chapmen of Surat, and whilst Sir Henry was preparing to depart, Mocrib Caun, contrary to his former promises of a factory, peremptorily ordered the agent in the town to be gone, pretending the Mogul's order, that the English should have neither trade nor factory there.

1612
Jan.

The ships sailed from the road of Swally on the 9th of February, and coasted down to Dabul, which at this time belonged to the king of Vizapoore, and was governed by a Siddee, whose ship they had stopped the year before in the Red Sea, which, with the report of their late conduct at Surat, procured them a respectful reception, and some trade during

Feb

1612 which they stopped and examined two merchant ships longing to the Portuguese, and dismissed them without injury. On his departure from Dabul Sir Henry Middleton summoned his council to deliberate on what he had long been determined but kept secret in his own mind. On leaving Mocha, he had agreed not to revive any claim for the injuries he had sustained from this government, if his confiscated goods, or their value, were restored, and the sum of 18 dollars paid as a compensation for damages. The government restored the goods, but obliged the merchants of the Indian ships, which Sir Henry had stopped on his escape, to pay money which Sir Henry seems to have regarded as a breach of the treaty but ought therefore to have refused the benefit. He now proposed to return to the Red sea and seize all ships coming from the coasts of India to Mocha. The master of the ships from the Mogul's country, was to compensate the injuries he had lately received at Surat. The withholding of the customs on the others would oblige the government of Mocha to make full restitution for their imiquities in preceding year. Few schemes have been formed with greater probability of success. The ships sailed from Dabul on the 5th of March, and arrived at Socatra on the 26th where they received information that three ships from England had passed into the gulf under the command of captain Sars*. Middleton however kept at the entrance

* Afterwards famous for the voyage to Japan, on which he proceeded after he left the Red sea.

and in thirty-seven days from the sd of April to the 10th of May, stopped and detained fifteen ships coming from the coasts of India besides smaller vessels of the Arabian shores, not subject to the Turks, which they dismissed. Of the ships, nine were from the Mogul's ports of Sindy, Daul, and Surat, three from each, from Dabul, two, one from Barcelote, two from Calicut, and one from Cananore. Besides these, two other ships of value, one from Chaul, the other from Cananore got into the straits before Middleton, and unloaded at Mocha whilst Satis was there. The *Rahemy*^s of Surat was of 1500 tons, had on board, it is said, 1500 souls, and belonged to the Mogul's mother, whose devotion had built and maintained this ship for the accommodation of pilgrims to Mecca most of whom, as in all the other ships, carried adventures of trade. The *Mahmoodie* of Dabul was of 1200 tons burthen.

The offensive governor of Mocha had been removed, and his successor, in obedience to orders from the Basia of Senaar,

Satis, in his journal, says, "The ninth of May 1612, I cruised the Indian ships to be measured, which were found to be of the scantlings following, viz the *Rahemy* was long, from stern (stem, perhaps) to stern post, an hundred and three and fiftie foot, for rale from the post aft, seventeene foot, from the top of her sides in breadth, two and fiftie, her depth, one and thirtie

" The *Mahomedee* in length, an hundred six and thirtie foot, her rale aft, to entie In breadth one and fiftie, in depth nine and twentie and an halfe Her main mast in length was six and thirtie yards, an hundred and eight, her main yard four and fiftie yards, an hundred two and thirtie

" The other were not much lesse" In this is some mistake, for none of the other ships are described as above five hundred tons

had

1612.
April
May.

May

1612. had treated captain Sans with courtesy although not unsuspected of treachery before the arrival of Sir Henry Middleton who releasing three, kept the other twelve ships of India at Assab on the opposite shore and demanded 100 000 dollars of the government of Mocha, as a compensation for the injuries of the preceding year A negotiation ensued and was continued by various inventions of delay during which the English ships bartered commodities to a considerable amount with their prizes, and took no advantage of their constraint in the bargains At length Middleton finding that he had nothing to expect from Mocha signified to his prizes that they must accompany him out of the gulph by which they would lose a year in the sale of their cargoes and this impending detriment induced them to satisfy him by an assessment of which neither the amount, nor the ships which contributed to it, are distinctly ascertained^{*} but the share of the Rehemy was 15,000 dollars All reckonings and payments were finished by the 12th of August and by the 17th,

Aug

* Captain Nicholas Downton, who commanded the Pepper-corn one of Sir Henry Middleton's ships, says in his journal as published in Purchas, Pilgrims, vol. I. p. 309.—" May the 16th—And to begin withal composition was this day made w^t Micer Mahomet Tuckey Achmed (f per cargo) of the Rehemy for fifteen thousand rials of eight, the being i value near equal to the other four ships which four ships are not enumerated either in this or the other journals It is from hence we suppose that Purchas in his relation which is a distinct work from his Pilgrims, says (page 515) " they had money of these ships some 32,000 rials of eight, whereof the Hebrewes paid 15,000. Nevertheless Purchas had other opportunities of knowing, being personally acquainted with officers who served in the voyage.

all

all the English ships were out of the gulph, bound to Bantam, from whence, some to Europe, others on farther voyages to the eastward 1612.

The news of these proceedings at Mocha had not reached Surat, when two of the company's ships, directly from England, arrived there on the 5th of September, under the conduct of captain Best. The Dragon, which he commanded, was large, but the Osiander very small. The factors who went up to the town, were well received by the officers of the government, and no reason is assigned for this change of their behaviour. A few days after*, sixteen Portuguese frigates put into the river, in order to stop the communication, and took a pinnace, with another Englishman, either coming or going to the town, and it should seem with goods, on which captain Best, on the 30th of September, secured a large Guzerat ship, probably one of those just returned from the same durance at Mocha, and declared that he should not release her until he had received his men on shore, and the value of the goods, which he had landed on invitation, for which he allowed five days. On the 6th of October, the governor Medi Jasseir, accompanied by four principal men, and many others, came on board the Dragon, and brought a great present, intreating the release of the Guzerat ship, and the continuance of trade, on which captain Best removed from the bar of Surat to the road of Swally, as

Sept.

Octob.

* The 13th of September

having

1612 having a better beach and with safer communication to the town by land for the Portuguese frigates infested the banks of the river. The principal merchant said that Surat must burn all its ships if friendship were not maintained with the English and on such representation Sheik Sassee, the governor of Ahmedabad came down to Swally on the 17th, and gave pledges on which captain Best went ashore, and in two days settled a treaty of which the first article is thus expressed. *Imprimis*, that all which concerneth Sir Henrie "Middleton be remitted acquitted and cleared to us that they shall never make seizure, stoppage, nor stay of our goods wares, and merchandises, to satisfye for the same." By the 2d, a confirmation of all the articles now agreed to was to be obtained under the seal of the great Mogul within forty days. By the 3d an ambassador for the king of England to reside at the Mogul's court. The 4th, That on the arrival of the company's ships at Swally proclamation be made in Surat, three several days successively that the people of the country may freely come and trade with the English at the water side.—5th, All English commodities to pay a duty of three and a half per cent.—6th, But petty wares, above ten dollars, to be free of custom. The 7th settles the rate and mode of carriage between Swally and the city. The 8th releases the effects of English subjects dying in the Mogul's dominions from forfeiture or claim. And by the 9th, it is provided that if all the English left on shore should

die in the interval between the departure and arrival of the company's ships, the government of Surat should see that their effects were faithfully collected and preserved, and deliver them to the first captains which should arrive 10th, All men and goods which may be taken by the Portuguese, to be recovered by the government, and restored without charge The 11th, exempts the trade and *factory* from responsibility for the robberies of English private men. The 12th, No provisions, except exceeding one thousand dollars, to pay customs And by the 13th, That in all questions of wrongs and injuries done to the English nation, justice be rendered without delay, or exorbitant charge

The scope of these articles provided sufficiently for the security of a *first* establishment They were signed on the 21st of October, when captain Best delivered the governor of Ahmedabad a costly present from the company, which he well deserved; and shewed him the present intended for the Mogul, which he sent back to the ship, to wait the confirmation of the articles

In the mean time factors resorted to Surat, where they discovered that the master of the customs, whose authority was second only to the governor's, befriended the Portuguese, and soon after, that a fleet was coming from Goa, to drive away the English ships

The Portuguese fleet consisted of four gallions, and more than twenty frigates The admiral of the gallions mounted

1612 thirty-eight guns the three others, twenty-eight and thirty
The frigates had no cannon but seemed intended for boarding
and the services of shoal water. This fleet appeared off the
28th. bar of Surat on the 28th of October and being joined by
the frigates in the river, the number of this craft amounted
to forty sail.

The next day captain Best bore down from the road of
Swally and engaged the vice-admiral, separated by the tide
and sands from the others. A shot from her sunk his long-
boat, another wounded his mainmast. The day after, he
engaged all the four and three of them either from igno-
rance or confusion grounded on the sands where they would
have overset if the frigates had not shored them up with
their yards until the tide and farther assistance got them
afloat again. On the 31st the fight was renewed and at
night, a frigate, prepared as a fire-ship bore down on the
Dragon which discovered her in time, and sunk her. Eighty
dead bodies floated to the shore. Of the English only two
were killed in the three fights.

The four succeeding days passed without action in the
repair of tackle when captain Best not doubting that the
Portuguese would follow him, resolved to try them in an
Normal. opener sea; and crossing the gulph anchored on the 9th at
Madrasabad which at this time was invested by an army of
the Moguls. From hence he continued cruising along the
shores on each hand, in order to learn the soundings during
in + " J which

which he received several invitations from the general of the army, who sending pledges, captain Best went ashore on the 21st to his camp, and was much intreated by him to assist in the siege with two pieces of cannon, but refused: nevertheless presents were exchanged, and he was dismissed with civility.

The next day, which was the 22d, the four Portuguese gallions appeared, and at night anchored within shot. Early in the morning captain Best stood towards them, who weighed, and put before the wind, cannonaded until out of reach, for they sailed better. The next morning, at sun-rise, he stood to them again, and maintained the fight until noon, when both sides, weary, such is the phrase, parted. When Best, finding on examination that both his ships had expended more than half their store of ammunition, resolved to reserve the remainder for defence, and steered towards Damān. The Portuguese followed, to preserve the shew of their flag, but did not venture near enough to renew the fight. Only one man was killed in these two last days, but the shot expended in all were, six hundred and twenty-five from the cannon, and three thousand from the small arms.

On the 27th, the two ships, no longer dogged by the Portuguese, anchored at S^wally, and renewed the intercourse with their factors at Surat, where the event of their fights raised the English reputation, even in the opinion of ill will,

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE

1612

which nevertheless continued and by means of the custom-master the confirmation of the articles by the Mogul which arrived a few days after was sent to Swally as a common letter of business, which raised suspicion that it might be a counterfeit and captain Best aware of the intended contempt and its consequences whether it were or not, refused to receive it, unless delivered with the usual solemnities. This spirit brought the governor and his son-in-law the custom master, to Swally who presented it in state* and congratulated but were very curious to know whether the English ships had not suffered more than was said in the late engagements.

Decem^r

This passed on the 11th of December. The goods intended for the factory were immediately landed and those provided there, received on board. In the interim, on the 14th the four gallions appeared again, but anchored at a distance. Captain Best set sail in the night of the 17th, and was followed by them for two hours, when they parted with-

* Captain Best, in this part of his journal, calls the confirmation he received, a phirman and which is the highest rank of patent, expressed to be issued by order of the King, and authenticated by the Vixir. But we are inclined to think it was no more than a hrasbulhookam or injunction from the Vixir which was soon after followed by a real phirman. For in the subsequent part of the journal captain Best, when at Atchto says,

" The seven and twentieth (of May) Melis Gany came to Atchto by whom I received letters from our merchants at Surat and also a copy of the king's firman sent them from Agra, bearing date the twenty-fifth of January and the seventh year of the Great Mogul's reign confirming all that was passed between the governor of Ahmedabad and me

out firing. Near Cananore he discovered the southern armada of Portuguese frigates, and took a merchant ship from amongst them, which he sunk after he had taken out the cargo of rice and sugar. He then continued cruising down the coast until the last of February, when he put off from Cape Comorin for Atchin.

1612.

1615
Feb

The principal factors left by captain Best at Surat, were Aldworth, Canning, Kerridge, and Withington, and Andrew Starkey, to proceed overland to England, with advices of the settlement. Canning was sent with the king's letter and the present, which was of little value, to Agra, travelling through much trouble, and was attacked by robbers, who killed some of his escort, and wounded more, with himself and another Englishman. He arrived on the 9th of April, and was asked by the Mogul, whether *that* present was sent by the king; but answered, that it was sent by the merchants. He continued in daily dread of poison from the Portuguese jesuits, and died on the 29th of May, which confirmed the suspicion. Andrew Starkey, was poisoned somewhere on the way by two friars. Kerridge, was sent from Surat on the 22d June, to supply the place of Canning, at Agra.

Aprl.

May

June

The Portuguese, from vexation at the permission of the English factory, and exasperated by the reproach of their own insufficiency, in not driving their ships from the road, resolved to keep no measures with the government of Surat, and in October seized a ship belonging to the port, which

Octob.

had

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE

1613 had on board five hundred persons and effects to the amount of 100,000 pounds they carried her with the prisoners to Goa. This violation produced an interdict of all intercourse, unless under especial passport for the purpose of recompilation.

November In November Aldworth and Withington travelled from Surat to examine the marts of Broach, Jumbaseer Brodora, Nenad and Ahmedabad where they received intelligence, that three English ships were arrived at Laurechunder in the river Indus and Withington proceeded in order to assist them with his advice.

December This journey is five hundred miles, and mostly through the most inhospitable country in India. He set out on the 15th of December travelling for safety with a caravan, which was attacked in the night of the third stage and the next day met the Moguls officer returning with two hundred and fifty heads of the Coolies, a nation of robbers. The sixth march brought them to Radempore* on the river Kutch, where they provided water and meat for the journey across the desert, in which they marched six days, watering their camels at brackish wells, until they arrived at Nagar Parkar a village on the skirts of the better country where came in a caravan which had been robbed within two days of Tatta, the capital and emporium of Scindy. From Nagar Parkar they travelled three days, partly in the desert, to a town

* In Mr D'Anville's Carte de L'Inde Nov 1732

called

called Bairiana, where they provided more water, but bad, for the ensuing journey of five days, all through the desert, to *Naramquere**^{1613.}, and arrived without mischance, but much sickness, when the caravan separated; leaving Withington with four servants, two merchants with five, and five drivers to then ten camels, who hired an escort at *Naramquere*, which saved them from a band of robbers in the next march to Gundaiwa. The next day they were twice attacked, but cleared themselves by a small present, and arrived at Surruna, a large town with a castle, belonging to the Rajpoots, whose chief, Rajah Bulbul, had been taken by the Moguls, and blinded, but nevertheless had lately escaped to his own mountains, and excited his kindred to revenge. His son Boomah, who was in Surruna, asked Withington many questions concerning England, invited him to supper, and drank freely. A Banian, who pretended to give intelligence concerning the English at Laueebunder, persuaded Withington to hire Boomah to escort him to Tatta, as the journey was full of danger, although not thirty miles^{1614.}

Boomah attended with fifty horse. the first halt, at ten miles, was on the bank of a river, from whence he renewed the march at two hours after midnight, and leading a quite contrary way, brought them, at break of day, into a thick wood, when his gang seized all, camels, men, and goods, and strangled the two Hindoo merchants and their five ser-

* In Mr D'Anville's première partie de la Carte d'Asie, 1751.

vants

1614 vants with their own tackle but only bound Withington and his and sent them forty miles into the mountains to Boomah's brothers, by whom they were kept twenty-two days in close confinement and then sent to Parkar where the Rajpoot governor had orders to forward them to Radenpore. In the journey to Parkar they were robbed of their clothes, and lived from hence to Radenpore by begging and the price of Withington's horse, which the thieves did not think worth the taking. At Radenpore their wants were relieved by a Baman whom Withington had known at Ahmedabad where he arrived on the 2d of April, after a distressful absence of one hundred and eleven days. Proceeding by Cambay and Broach he arrived on the 18th at Surat where Aldworth was returned before having left a house, hired on the company's account, at Ahmedabad and another at Broach with brokers and domestics to provide goods, until the factors from Surat should come to examine them and settle the prices.

The report of three ships in the Indus, which had called forth Withington had arisen from the arrival of one, named the Expedition on board of which was sir Robert Shirley who had been sent by the Sophy Shah Abbas the great, as his ambassador to King James and was returning to Persia, accompanied by sir Thomas Powel, whom the king sent as his own to the Sophy. Both ambassadors had their wives with them and in the retinue of sir Robert Shirley were

were several Persians. The ship was provided for the voyage of Surat and Bantam, but the company, grateful to the state, and prespicacious of their own future interests in Persia, undertook to convey the ambassadors. 1614.

The Portuguese in possession of Ormus, where their garrison and gallies proudly barred the entrance of the Persian gulph, and vaunting likewise their hold of Muscat on the Arabian shore, deterred all approach within their reach, not licensed by their passport, and the ambassadors, ignorant of the countries between Persia and the Indus, prudently rated the long journey from Surat to Candahar, as the most secure and shortest way of getting to Ispahan. But the Expedition putting into the bay of Saldania, where they arrived in April, met several of the company's ships returning from Bantam, and with them captain Hawkins, whose account of Sir Henry Middleton's proceedings, as well at Surat as in the Red-sea, made the ambassadors despair of reception at that port, and it was resolved to try the shores adjoining to Persia, in sight of which they came on the 10th of September, about one hundred miles to the eastward of Cape Jasques. 1613

Sir Thomas Powel went ashore to get intelligence in a little village, and learned that the country was called Mekran, the people Baluches, and subject to a prince tributary to Persia, who resided at Guadel, a port five days sail to the eastward, and would willingly convey the ambassadors to the Sophy's court; on which they stood towards Guadel, and in

1614 the way endeavoured to stop two trading boats, which beat off the ship's pinnace, not without bloodshed, and when pursued by the long boat better armed pushed into a bay where one of them ran ashore and was wrecked and the other was with difficulty prevented but all the men excepting nine, swam ashore, who with the boat were brought to the ship and treated with civility They belonged to Guadel and had a pass from the Portuguese at Muscat, to which they were bound and begged to go but were denied, from the fear of spreading alarm and piloted the ship to Septemb Guadel where she arrived on the 10th of September the fifth day's sail from the village, where Sir Thomas Povel had landed

The governor of Guadel spared neither humilities, promises nor preparations, to gain the confidence of the ambassadors. The carriages and escort of their journey were collected and shewn on which they landed their presents furniture, and money and agreed to come ashore on the 21st at four in the afternoon.

It wanted only half an hour to this time, and all were ready dressed on the deck when the ship's boat came on board with intelligence from the Persian Nazerbeg, that the Beluches intended to murder all who might land, excepting the chirurgeons, musicians, women, and boys. Neither the joy nor indignation of the danger escaped disconcerted shrewdness or presence of mind. Sir Robert Shurley sent a message to the governor,

governor, that a sudden illness prevented him from coming ashore until the next day, and mentioned the hour, but intending to land in ceremony, wished the governor to send three boats, with some of his principal men, to honour the procession of his own. The counter-snare was not suspected. In the interval the money was secretly conveyed back to the pinnace, and a chest of old lumber, sent from the ship, was changed for one of much value, which it was pretended had been brought ashore by mistake. The governor's boats, with fifty persons arrived on board the ship whilst the pinnace was still on shore, and to get her away without suspicion was the pinch of the stratagem, for Nazerbeg, with three Europeans, were at the tent, and it was resolved to save Hodgee Comal, the governor's physician, who had revealed the plot, and now obtained his leave to go to the ship in order to buy the proper medicines for his disorder. The Europeans passed as musicians necessary to the procession, and Nazerbeg prevailed on a man of rank to go with him in order to see rarities. As soon as the boat was well on the way, all the Baluchies on board the ship were seized and disarmed, the meaner suffered to return, they of better condition confined, and a message sent to the governor, that their liberty should answer the restoration of the effects on shore. A deceitful apology produced a second summons, which limited their lives to two hours, and the hour-glass was set before the messenger. This terror brought off every thing,

1614
1613

1614 when all the prisoners were released excepting one, detained
1613 to pilot the ship to Scindv which arrived at Diul* in the
 Spt river Indus, on the 26th of September

Many Portuguese although without regular force or government were settled and trading at Diul who represented the English as pirates Nevertheless the Moguls governor received the ambassadors with courtesy and promised to assist their journey but refused the permission of trade because the ship had brought few commodities and the Portuguese threatened to leave the port which gained largely by their customs. He however promised in writing, that if the English would engage to make their trade as valuable he would give them the preference.

So little was the intercourse between Diul and Surat that the Expedition heard nothing of the factory settled here by captain Best to which, as well for the certainty of trade as the convenience of the ambassadors journey they would otherwise have repaired but disembarked with their families and effects at Diul, intending to proceed from hence by Candahar to Ispahan The ship sailed for Sumatra and Bantam Q80 on the 9th of October two months before Withington set out for Ahmedabad to find her in the Indus

The wife of this ship left the factors at Surat without the arrival of one from England during the two first seasons after their establishment which might have exposed them to the

* Not the island of Dm.

contempt

contempt and opposition of the Moorish government, but for expectation of assistance from the first which might arrive, against the Portuguese, who, after taking the great ship, had continued outrages by sea and land against the Mogul's subjects within their reach, until, in consequence of these provocations, an army, under the command of Mocrib Caun, marched from Ahmedabad against their town and territory of Daman, and another against their fortresses in the island of Diu

1614
1613.

Withington, soon after his forlorn journey to Scindy, proceeded to Agra, where he arrived in the middle of June, and found all the catholics, who were many, prohibited from the public exercise of their religion, their churches shut up under guard, and the two Portuguese jesuits, who had hitherto been in great favour with the emperor, forbidden his presence

1614
June

The occasion which called Withington to Agra, was the death of John Mildenall, a name of earlier note in the resort to India. He was bred a merchant, and was employed whilst the establishment of the COMPANY was under adjustment, to bear a letter from queen ELIZABETH to the Mogul, ACBAR, requesting the freedom of trade in his dominions. He left Aleppo in July 1600, but did not arrive at Agra until the year 1603, where he was much thwarted by the friars, but after a residence of three years, obtained a phirmaund, Acbar being dead, from Jchangire, with which he returned

as

1614. as he came through Persia and was at Casbin in October 1606
The advices of his success we suppose, promoted the mission
of captain Hawkins, who sailed for Surat in March 1607 at
which time Mildenall might not have been arrived in Eng-
land. The rest of his story is very obscure.¹ He returned to
Persia, if not before, in 1610 with some commission, in which
two others, young men were joined whom it is said he poi-
soned, in order to embezzle the effects committed to their
common charge, with which he repaired to Agra, where he
turned Roman catholic, and died himself of poison, leaving
all he possessed to a Frenchman, whose daughter he intended
to marry. Mr Kerridge was at that time the resident at
Agra but being constantly occupied in attendance on the
court, sent for Withington to collect the effects left by
Mildenall of which to the amount of 20 000 dollars were
recovered in conformity to the exemptions allowed in the
plutinaund granted to captain Best.

At length the long-expected succour from England ap-
OCTOBpeared at the bar of Surat on the 12th of October two years
and eight months after the departure of the ships with captain
Best during which interval none belonging to the English
had been seen there. The fleet consisted of four ships, of
650 500 three hundred and two hundred tons and the
crews would have been six hundred men if not impaired by
sickness. The general (for such was the title given in these
early voyages to the chief commander, even of a single ship,
if

if independent of any other) was Nicholas Downton, who had been captain of one of those with Sir Henry Middleton. They left England on the 1st of March, and had been informed at Socotra of the fights and phirmaund of captain Best. From Daman they were followed in the night by fourteen fregates, which avoided the day. The 15th they moored at Swally, where the next day came down Mr Aldworth, the principal merchant, accompanied by Richard Steele, lately arrived from Aleppo, and sent by the company on experiment. These two, with one Biddulph, were the only factors remaining at Surat when the fleet arrived, which brought a sufficient recruit.

1614.
Ozot.

Mocrib Caun not only commanded the army against Daman; which had done nothing, but likewise held, with the title of Nabob, the governments of SURAT, BROACH, Brodera, and Neriad, which extended from the Nerbeddah to the territory of the Portuguese. His former conduct to Sir Henry Middleton had left a prejudice in the mind of Downton, which Aldworth could not remove by representing his present want of assistance from the English. He was at this time at Surat, and expected the first overtures, which not coming, he sent one of his principal officers, named Coja Nazar, to Swally, on the 27th of the month, to whom captain Downton delivered a present for Mocrib Caun, and another for himself, but neither of much value, and demanded redress for impositions in the customs, especially at BROACH, and a market

1614
O.Sob

market for beeves on the strand at Swally but Coja Nazar answered that the customs of Broach were out of the power of the government being farmed to a merchant and that the Bannars at Surat had paid a large sum to prevent the killing of beeves. On which the three senior factors newly arrived were sent with Aldworth to treat with the Nabob who proposed various means by which he might be assited but was told that the peace which subsisted between the two nations in Europe, prohibited the English from any hostilities against the Portuguese, excepting in their own defence in which distinction finding them inflexible, he said that as they would do nothing for him he should do nothing for them

On the 27th, all the natives who had gathered at Swally for dealing or employment, disappeared. And on the same day the factors in the city intending to return to the flups, were seized at the gate, and forced to prison where Aldworth imprudently said, that such treatment would drive the English to join the Portuguese; which increased the severity for this violence was occasioned by the contrivance of two jesuits in the town who had counterfeited a letter as from the vice roy of Goa, ordering them to inform the Nabob, that unless he made peace with his nation he should join the English against the Moguls government and the angry words of Aldworth confirmed the suspicion until explanation detected the fraud when the Nabob apologised, and permitted the

factors to return to Swally, from whence the country people had removed by his order given, not in despite, but in consequence of injunctions from Agra, not to suffer any thing to be bought out of the ships which might arrive, before the Mogul's purveyors, who were expected, had chosen what was fit for his use

1614.
With the factors came down what goods were in the factory, provided since the departure of captain Best. They were only sixty bales of indigo, and eleven bales of cotton-yarn, not in the whole exceeding 20,000 rupees. Money, and goods for sale, to a much greater amount, had been left with Aldwoorth, but the produce had been expended in journeys, maintenance, residences, equipages, and presents.

The intercourse now opened with the city did not entirely remove the suspicions of captain Downton, which Mocrib Caun did not lessen, by holding out a claim for restitution, on a pretended account of unfair dealings in the barters made with the Surat ships, when detained by sir Henry Middleton in the Red-sea, which Downton knew to be false. At the same time came intelligence, that the viceroy of Goa was preparing the whole marine of his state, to attack the English ships at Swally, and Downton doubted whether he might not be joined by Mocrib Caun, who a few days after threatened the factors in the city with severities, because they refused to shew him the present intended for the Mogul,

which nevertheless they were at last obliged to do These mistrusts deterred Downton from risking himself on shore until his auxiliaries were alleviated by the arrival of officers sent by the Mogul to examine the presents, who brought orders that the English should be treated with favour in all their wants and dealings on which Mocrib Cauu made honorary presents to the principal factors, and gave the allotted sum for expences to those who were to accompany the Mogul to Agra advising them to set out without delay and promising escort as far as his authority reached This passed on the 25th of November a few days after he sent merchants to make purchases in the ships for his own use and then his son on the 9th of December to visit Downton who met him on the strand at Swally

Four days after appeared a fleet of twenty two frigates, which passed unmolested, although near the land of Swally for Downton adhered to his resolution of not commencing hostility They crossed the gulph to the road of Gogo where they burnt one hundred and twenty trading boats, and several ships of which one was the Relicmy without doubt at this time, the largest on the seas of India after which the soldiers landed and destroyed several villages but Gogo being walled was safe. The news of this devastation arrived at Surat on the 16th of December and renewed the suspicion of Mocrib Cauu that the English were in league with the Portuguese,

Portuguese, because they had not fired on the frigates as
they passed

1614.
Decemb.

Before their return, captain Downton weighed from Swally, and anchored his ships off the bar of Surat, in order to protect the communication of his boats with the city. The road is seven miles from the shore, and every where along the coast are sands which afford refuge to shallow vessels against the approach of ships of deep burthen, of which the frigates availed themselves, anchoring much nearer the shore, from whence they gave chase, even into the river, to every boat which appeared either coming in or going out, whilst others cruized as they listed around. On several nights some bore down, as if they intended to set the ships on fire, which were kept in continual alerts, either of guard, defence, or chase, with very little detriment done or received, until the 29th, when captain Downton, finding that he could not prevent the cruizes of the frigates at the mouth of the river, returned to Swally. On the 16th of January, a fleet of near forty more appeared from the south, and joining those already at the bar, went all together into the river to get water, and came out the next day. The day after arrived nine ships, which were followed the next day by two gallies

1615.
Jan.

The crews of the Portuguese marine in India were composed of two different orders. The fighting men were rated as genuine Portuguese, who, proud of this pre-eminence,

1615 refused unless in cases of extremity, to take part in the services necessary to navigate the vessel but reserved to themselves the management of the cannon fire works, and small arms. The mariners were either slaves, or Hindoos of the meaner castes, or still more degenerate christians born in the country and considered as unworthy of the military character were entirely allotted to the management of the tackle. The armament which now appeared at the bar of Surat, was commanded by the vice rov of Goa, Don Jeronimo de Acevedo, who hoisted his flag as admiral in the Todos Santos of eight hundred tons two hundred and sixty fighting men of whom thirty were of family and distinction and twenty-eight pieces of ordnance, which probably were of the larger calibres for two are expressly said to be forty pounders Five others of the ships were from seven to four hundred tons from one hundred and eighty to one hundred and forty men from twenty to fourteen guns. These six were rated as galleons a distinction we do not comprehend The two next in force were each of two hundred tons, fifty men and eight guns and a pinnace of four guns had eighty fighting men The two gallies had each fifty The frigates had eighteen oars on a side and were equally manned with thirty besides the rowers, who were probably two to an oar in which case they amounted to four thousand three hundred and twenty and with the mariners in the larger vessels, made the

the number of six thousand natives serving in the fleet, in which the Portuguese, or Europeans, were two thousand six hundred, who managed, with very* little skill, one hundred and thirty-four pieces of cannon, against eighty of much inferior shot

1615
Jan

Captain Downton considered the success of this armament as the certain destruction of the English commerce in the Mogul's dominions, reasoning, that if his own ships should be driven from their stations, in the roads of Surat and Swally, the vice-roy, by devastation even of the city itself, would compel the Nabob to refuse the English all future resort and intercourse, and, computing the loss of his ships as a detriment much inferior to such a consequence, he resolved to perish with them, rather than recede, but did not despair that stratagem might avail to supply the defect of force.

The Nabob, terrified by the appearance of the armament, sent his shabander, or custom-master, and several other principal men, to the vice-roy, with a large present of provisions, and many promises, to obtain peace, which the vice-roy refused, not doubting that he should destroy the English

* We have endeavoured to compute the force of this armada, from the deposition in Purchas, of a Portuguese who served in one of the gallions RARIA DE SOUZA relates this campaign, and, although differing in some particulars from the English accounts, without partiality to the Portuguese. Describing that part of the fleet, which sailed with the vice-roy from Goa, and consisted of all the vessels which mounted cannon, besides some others, he says, "Llevavan mil y quatrocientos Portugueses mucha y poderosa artilleria pero ignorantes manejadores della."

ships,

1615
Jan

ships after which he intended to exact much severer terms, or the full price of remission

The channel of Swally is about a mile and a half in breadth, and seven in length. It lies between a spot of sand of this length which is dry at low water and the main shore. The ships, when Swally used to be the station now deserted anchored in a cove which cuts into the land about midway of the channel and is called Swally hole. The wind during the northerly monsoon blows constantly from the N. E. and at this time generally fresh enough to stem the flood which comes from the south.

Early in the morning of the 20th at low water Downton sent the Hope, of three hundred tons, to anchor at the south entrance of the channel, where the galleons would not have depth sufficient to come near her until the flood was high. The three other ships soon after came out of the cove, but anchored again in the channel. These manœuvres produced the intended mistake, that the English ships had quitted Swally to put to sea and fly the coast. And the Hope had scarcely anchored before the whole fleet of the Portuguese were under full sail plying to stop the channel. The two smaller ships, with the pinnace, which were foremost, all at the same time grappled and boarded the Hope in which, the attack being expected was well resisted. Downton with the three other ships, leaving their anchors, came down, and chose their shot on the enemy's ships entangled with the

Hope

1615
Jan

Hope, which thence beat off the Portuguese who had entered, to find more danger on board than own which the confusion of continual slaughter disabled them from cutting clear of the Hope, until in despair, they set fire to all the three, and took to the water, when a number of fugates, which had hitherto given no assistance, now risked themselves, and saved many, but many were drowned.

In the mean time the Hope had taken fire in her main and fore rigging, but nevertheless disengaged herself from the three ships in fierce flames, which drove on the sands, and burnt until overwhelmed by the flood. All this while the galleons kept on the outside of the spit, across which they cannonaded the English ships within the channel, which was answered, but with little detriment on either side.

This success changed the face of affairs. The vice-roy sent a deputation to the Nabob proposing an alliance, who answered with a present of provisions, and refusal to make any peace in which the English should not be included; to whom he ordered his officers at Swally to give every assistance, and even sent timber from the city to replace the main-mast of the *Hope*, which had been destroyed by the fire. And the English ships carried on their usual occupations in the channel, sometimes alarmed, but never attacked, by the Portuguese, who waited for reinforcements, which arrived on the 3d of February, consisting of two ships, two large junks, and eight or ten of the country boats.

On

1615

Feb

On the 8th, in the forenoon the two junks, with the two gallies before arrived, came driving up the channel with the flood, as if intending to fire the ships, for which they were said to be prepared but as soon as the ships weighed and flood towards them they put about and got away with the wind Captain Downton suspected that this appearance was only meant to fix his attention to this end of the channel, whilst it was really intended to make the attack from the other where, during the ebb the wind and tide served together whereas the wind constantly opposed the flood which was the only help of approach from the south Nor was he mistaken for soon after dark the interception of a large light on an island at a great distance, or perhaps on the coast itself on the other side of the bay towards Gogo discovered that vessels were moving to the north of the channel and before midnight four were descried coming down with the ebb they were two fire boats not yet lighted towed by two frigates The cannon and small arms of the ships soon obliged the frigates to throw off the boats, setting fire to them, which coming on were avoided by three of the ships, but both at some interval fell on the Hope, one athwart her hause, the other on her quarter but she cleared herself without damage, and the flood brought them back still burning in the morning, when the ships boats towed them aground.

On the night of the 10th came down two boats, towed by four frigates, which, as before, were forced by the fire of the

1615
Feb

ships to cast off and kindle the boats at too great a distance, when the strength of the wind drove them to leeward of the ships. They were scarcely passed, when many more frigates were discerned, which had in tow four boats chained together ahead all stemmed directly on the Hector, affording spacious mark to the fire of all the ships, which again beat away the frigates, in such terror, that they only lighted two of the boats. The Hector, by swinging round on her cable, avoided them. A shot from the admiral set fire to the third boat, which fired the other; and all, confounded together, were driven by the gale on the strand of Swally.

The Portuguese galleons, which had this while continued anchoring to the northward, fell down the next day to the bay of Surat, where captain Downton caused them to be watched, suspecting the vice-roy might land and attempt the city, in which case he resolved to attack the galleons, deprived of their fighting men, but the vice-roy saw the danger, and only sent the frigates into the river, to give importance to the negociation which he renewed with the Nabob, who answered as before, that he could not abandon the English. And on the 13th the vice-roy sailed away with all the armada, excepting twenty frigates, which created various conjectures concerning his future intentions.

Notwithstanding the alarms to which the English ships had been lately exposed, they had not desisted from landing their outward cargoes, and receiving on board the goods provided for England, all of which were shipped, as well as the water

1615
Feb. and provisions when captain Downton deeming the fair season too far spent to permit the armada if they should return to attack the city signified his intention of departing to the Nabob who intreated him to defer it for fifteen days, and after much seeming objection he consented to wait on which the Nabob sent his tents and pomp to Swally and arrived there himself with a great train on the 24th in the morning before captain Downton was apprized who landed two hours after with one hundred and twenty men regularly armed and was escorted by them to the tent, where the Nabob received and entertained him with much courtesy and on his invitation went on board his ship which he examined with intelligent curiosity and Downton accompanied him back to the shore. Two days after his son and son in law came on board to take leave and the next, several of the principal men of the town

Next On the 3d of March the English ships weighed from Swally, and saw a fleet of frigates coming from the westward to the river most of which passed in shoal water out of cannon shot but the ships fired on the nearest, to give the last testimony of good-will to their friends on shore Vessels going from Surat to the south, even in the northerly monsoon fare their ground by anchoring on the flood unless the wind is very stiff At day break the Portuguese armada were discerned at anchor towards the shore who weighed and stood after the English ships through the day but lost ground by not anchoring as they did on the flood. The next day the 5th

of

1615.
March

of the month, both fleets stood on to the south, but the Portuguese did not gain, although the *Hope* sailed so ill, that the *Hector*, which sailed the best, was obliged to take her in tow. The succeeding day, Downton, thinking he had led the armada far enough from their own ports and Surat, resolved to let them come up, and then putting about suddenly, to attack them unexpected, hoping much from the surprize of conceited superiority. He accordingly went in his boat to the three other ships, to animate and instruct them, during which the flood set in, when his own, which had the admiral's flag aloft, meaning to accommodate the quickness of his return to her with the tide, fell astern of the others. At this time the vice-roy's galleon sailing well, was far a-head of the rest of his fleet, and near enough to have brought Downton's to engagement, and his gunner proffered to sink her with the two forty-pounders, which seem to have been the pride of the armada, but the *ludalgoes*, or gentry, said that the English admiral had fallen astern with no other intention than to tempt the vice-roy to the trial, when the three other ships would bear down, and be an overmatch, on which he hauled his wind * towards the shore, was followed by his fleet, and

* FARIA DE SOUSA says, that the English ships made their acknowledgments to the vice-roy for this resolution of not fighting them, by a salute, as from friends, of their cannon without ball, and reason good, that they should consult the safety and satisfaction of those who had consulted theirs. "Finalmente los Ingleses agradecieron aquella resolucion a los nuestros, con un salva como de amigos, porque fue de artilleria sin bala que era razon procuraslen el gusto y la salud de quen les procurava el suyo y la suya"—But notwithstanding the wit of FARIA, the English salute was a very ironical compliment.

1615
March

all were soon out of sight as the English ships continued their course When the vice rov was afterwards arraigned on various crimes during his government his conduct on this day was one of the articles of accusation and the very indulgoes, in deference to whose opinion he had refrained from the attack witnessed against him The English ships proceeded down the coast and on the 10th of the month the Hope was sent off for England the other three doubled Cape Comorin on the 19th and arrived on the second of June at Bantam where captain Downton died on the 6th of August lamented admired and unequalled

1614
Novem.

Decem.

The present for the Mogul had set out from Surat on the last of November under the charge of Mr Edwards, the senior merchant of those who arrived in the fleet an escort was furnished by Mocrib Caun and Mr Aldworth the principal agent with several other factors, availed themselves of the safety and repute of this opportunity to visit the towns where the company had residencies or trade The escort was changed at BROCH again at Demy rode but at Chamon dyle only twenty-five men were allotted and they were in concert with the robbers, of whom a band of fifty horsemen came near the caravan whilst halting at night, but were deterred by the dispositions of defence which the factors made with their own servants On the 8th they arrived at Brodera where a present to the governor and a sight of the mastiff dog intended for the Mogul procured them kind reception and an escort of one hundred soldiers, who accompanied

them to Ahmedabad, where they arrived on the 13th From hence Richard Steele and John Crouther were sent off on their destined journey, to Persia, and on the 2d of January, Mr Edwards continued his with the present to Agra.

Jan.

The exclusion of the Portuguese enabled the English factors abroad to make their purchases at Ahmedabad with dispatch and sufficient cheapness. They set out on their return from thence, on the 26th of January, with forty carts, and an escort, which the government increased, because murders and robberies had been committed, two nights before, close to the walls of the city. At Mundevas, the governor informed them of the fight, which had passed on the 20th, between the *Hope*, and the three ships which boarded her, acknowledging that Surat owed its preservation to that success, and in gratitude augmented their escort, to which more were fortunately added when they arrived at Brodera, for on the march to Broach, the caravan was attacked in a close lane, thick set on each side with hedges, by three hundred Rajpoets, who with their lances and arrows wounded many, although few dangerously, and before the line could get out again into the plain, cut off two of the carriages, with which they retired to divide the booty. On the 5th of February the caravan arrived at Surat, and the goods were sent to the ships at Swally.

Febr.

The mission of Steele and Crouther was intended to procure a pliamaund for the permission of English ships to trade

1615 in the ports of Persia and the hopes of success were authorized by the circumstances of the time, and the expected assistance of Sir Robert Shirley

¹⁶¹⁵
~~Oct 6~~ The ship *Expedition* had no sooner left the Indus, as we have said in October 1615 than the governor of Daul who was a Banian and either bribed or intimidated by the Portuguese, falsified the promises which had induced the two ambassadors to land under his protection a frigate had been dispatched to Ormus which brought back twelve assassins, if other means should fail, to stop their journey to Persia which obliged them to keep constant guard in their own house often exposed to the outrages of the Portuguese residing in the town which the governor if he did not encourage, would not, although called on prevent, but even refused his permission for their departure during these distresses, Sir

1614 Thomas Powel and one of his followers, died At length Sir Robert Shirley set out with his own means which as he took his company must have been openly and without his drance but when they came to where they intended to cross the river, no boats would venture to carry them over on which they made a raft, and Shirley first embarked with Na serbeg, to try the passage, when a party of horse, sent from Daulsind, appeared on the bank, and swimmers brought back the raft. Meanwhile a fray ensued on shore and Mr Ward who had long been the companion of Sir Robert Shirley fired his pistol in the face of one of the troop, and

was instantly shot dead by another. All were seized and carried back, then effects pillaged in the way, and the whole company put into prison. At length they were released, and permitted to get boats, in which they proceeded to Tatta, where the governor, being a Persian, treated them with civility, but as all the roads were infested by robbers, they waited two months for the escort of an omrah of distinction travelling to Agra. During this delay, the widow of sir Thomas Powel was brought to bed, and died with her infant, and soon after Michael, the brother of sir Thomas, likewise died.

1615
1614.

Sir Robert Shirley, on his arrival at Agra, was received with much courtesy by the emperor, who wished to entertain him in his service, and sent for the governor of Diulfinde, on whom he offered to inflict any punishment sir Robert might chuse, if he would stay to see it inflicted. But sir Robert pressed to continue his journey, and gave offence by a retort to a harsh reflection on the king of Persia, which nevertheless did not prevent the sometimes generous humour of Jehangue from dismissing him with rich presents*, equipage, provisions, and an escort, which was continued to the frontier of Candahar, from whence he arrived safely with his lady at Ispahan; bearing the purport of sir Thomas Powel's embassy from KING JAMIS, which was not unacceptable to SHAH ABBAS, who having lately reduced the province of Lar, wished to dispossess the Portuguese of Ormus, and their other lordships in

* Purchas says, to the amount of 9,000l

the

1614 the Persian gulph but wanted the assistance of an equal force at sea, which he foresaw might be furnished by the English nation

1615
March. The Portuguese vice-roy after retreating from captain Downton stopped at Bassein before he proceeded to Goa and instructed his governor of Daman to endeavour a reconciliation with Surat to which end the jesuit Hieronimo Xavier worked more efficaciously at Agra by proffers and apologies, which gained the emperors mother from motives of religion and his wife by expectation of presents at whose solicitations the emperor gave the government and revenue of Surat in appanage to his third son Sultan Currom who succeeded to the throne with the name of Shah Jehan

Aug. Sultan Currom appointed his favorite Zulfacar Caun to act as his manager and vicegerent at Surat from whence Moerb Caun set out as soon as the rains began to abate and Mr Aldworth, with several factors took the advantage of his escort to repair to Cambay and Ahmedabad *

Sep. Zulfacar Caun vexed at the detriments which the state and revenues of his new government had sustained from the Portuguese imputed the cause to the English whom he detested accordingly and concluded a treaty with the governor of Daman which according to the historian FARIA, consisted

* We find this second journey of Aldworth, and the departure of Moerb Caun not in any of the relations in Purchas, but in a separate tract of forty pages in 1^o—printed London 1633, and written by CHRISTOPHER FARRELL, one of the factors who accompanied Mr Aldworth in this journey

1615.
Sept

of the following articles, " That neither the emperor, nor the
 " vice-roy should hold any correspondence either with the English
 " or the Dutch that they should not shelter either of these
 " nations in their ports, but obliged themselves to drive them
 " out of the sea of Guzerat within three months after their
 " appearance in it that if the English should come into the
 " WELL of Surat, the Portuguese should be permitted to raise
 " batteries on the shore, and expel them that, former injuries
 " and losses on both sides being forgot, the Moguls and
 " Portuguese should trade freely in each others ports. that
 " the prisoners on both sides should be restored, and the Mogul
 " restoie all effects in his possession belonging to the Portuguese,
 " after paying himself seventy thousand xerasins,
 " for the estimated loss in a ship coming from Mecca that
 " the hulk of a ship should be given to the emperor's mother,
 " in compensation for that* which had been burnt at Gogo.
 " that the vice-roy should permit two ships for one year, and
 " one every year, to make the voyage from Surat to Mecca,
 " exempt from all duties that the Malabais should be
 " driven out of the ports of both, as pernicious pirates; and
 " that nothing in this peace should alter the rights of the
 " king of Portugal to levy duties at his custom-house of Diu,
 " on all vessels navigating the gulph of Cambay" We can-
 not ascertain the date of this treaty, which FARIA places
 towards the end of this year 1615, and it might have been

* The Rehemy, see page 325 and 346

1615 executed in September soon after the arrival of Zulfacar
 Sept Caun who at all events could not preſume to fulfil all its
 engagements, until conſtituted by the Mogul "

Frequent information given by intelligent persons who
 had been at Agra concerning the state and manners of the
 Mogul's court, had convinced the company of the expediency
 of a formal embassy from the king to be executed by a per-
 son of more diſtinction than any who at this time sought their
 mercantile service. Accordingly sir Thomas Roe was ap-
 pointed but as if the royal commission required not the ac-
 companiments of splendor frugality prescribed his allowances,
 his retinue, and even the present to the Mogul with little
 conformity to the sumptuous prejudices of the most magni-
 ficient court in the universe "

Sir Thomas Roe embarked in one of four ships which
 sailed together. They left the land & end on the 6th of
 March. March of 1615 touched at the Cape, at Mohila and at So-
 Sept. cota and anchored at Swally on the 18th of September

The factor Biddulph came down and returned with several
 of those arrived in order to provide and furnish the embas-
 sador's house nevertheless each of them was strictly searched
 at the city gate, for the customs or what toys or implements
 they might have about them. Zulfacar Caun notwithstanding
 his aversion to the English was deterred by respect
 to his own sovereign from insulting their ambassador without
 pretext, and sent down his principal men to receive sir

Thomas,

Thomas Roe on the strand who landed on the 24th under a general salute, and the best apparel of the ships, accompanied by all their officers, the factors, his own retinue, and one hundred men under arms

1615.

On his arrival at the city, his own person, with four of his followers, were exempted, but not until after remonstrance, from the custom-house search, but Zulfiar refused the rest, pretending to see no difference between his, and the quality of those who had been employed as the company's residents at Agra*, all of whom had assumed the title of ambassador from the king of England. This was followed by other affronts, which determined him to wait for an answer from the court during which Mr Aldworth died at Ahmedabad, and Mr Kerridge who took the management of the factory there, was fined and imprisoned by the government. The letters from court ordered proper respect to sir Thomas Roe, who sat out from Surat on the 30th of October.

Octob.

At Baravore were encamped the Sultan Parviz, second son of the emperor, and Chin Chanan, the rival of Asiph Jah, with forty thousand horse, designed against Melec Amber. Sir Thomas visited the Sultan, and requested his permission to establish a factory in the city, which he not only granted, but immediately issued the firmands for the coming and residence of the factors he likewise ordered new carriages for

* Hawkins, Canuing, Kerridge, Edwards.

1615 the Mogul's present. Sickness detained him at Brampore for
 Decemb some days On the 23d of December he arrived at Azaur
 to which the Mogul had removed from Agro and was met
 the day before by Edwards the resident, and Thomas Coryat
 the traveller

1616 His sickness delayed the first audience until the 10th of
 Jan. January he was received by the Mogul with more than the
 usual courtesy to embassadors in the east and delivered the
 presents from the KING On the 14th he visited Sultan
 Curron with one, as from the company and demanded
 redress of him, as lord of Surat, for the many injuries
 which had been inflicted on their trade and factors by the
 officers of that government adding that respect to the Sultan
 had prevented him from complaining to the emperor The
 Sultan promised that the grievances should be immediately
 remedied On the 24th Sir Thomas, at a public audience
 represented to the emperor the violences and indignities
 which the factors had suffered at Ahmedabad on which he
 ordered two purmaunds of injunction the one that the
 money exacted from Mr Kernidge should be restored and the
 English be treated with all favour the other to release all
 customs levied on whatsoever pretence on the roads and
 to repay what had been received He moreover willed Sir
 Thomas Roo to complain again if these orders were not soon
 and punctually obeyed

But these professions were only occasional reliefs, and no earnest for such a treaty as sir Thomas Roe was instructed to obtain for the general and permanent security of the English trade in the Mogul's dominions, which, although not openly, were inveterately opposed by the most powerful influences in the court. Many had been persuaded by the jesuit, and Sultan Currom by Zulfacar Caun, of whose conduct sir Thomas Roe had complained, that Surat would be more benefited by the friendship and intercourse of the Portuguese, than the trade of the English, or at least, that this trade would never compensate the detriment of the Portuguese hostilities, which would never cease whilst the English were encouraged. Sultan Currom had married the daughter of Asiph Jah, the vizier, whose sister, Noormahal*, was married to the emperor, and rarely failed to influence all his resolutions. The aunt and father-in-law indulged the prejudices of the Sultan, and thwarted the success of sir Thomas Roe, who having borne the delays and excuses of office for two months, and finding nothing consonant in the terms offered by Sultan Currom, spoke directly to the emperor, and requested a definitive answer to his own proposals. The emperor asked what presents he should receive yearly, expected rubies and diamonds (which the Portuguese gave) but seemed content with the promise of curious manufactures, and wished to have a large English house. Renewing the

1616
Jan

March
13th

* See note xi. to the Historical Fragments, page 185

discourse

1616
March. discourse of the treaty, sir Thomas Roe said that the English had been often wronged and could not continue on such terms. The emperor caught the word and asked with much emotion By whom wronged? Sir Thomas ordered his interpreter in broken Spanish to say "that he would not trouble " his majesty but ask redress of his son from whom he " doubted not to obtain it." The king understanding the word *figho* thought his son was accused and scolded him roundly before he would listen to the explanation of the mistake which restored quiet, and renewed the conversation on the *phirmaund* offered by the Sultan, which produced other altercations of heat when Mocrib Caun spoke out in favour of the Portuguese, and slightingly of the English and was seconded by the jesuit to which sir Thomas Roe replied, that he offered them a conditional peace, but set their friendship at a mean rate, and their hatred and force at less. The emperor said his demands were just his resolution noble, and bade him propound But Asiph Jah who had hitherto been silent although very significant, was apprehensive that more dispute would break out, and proposed, that the English demands should be presented to the emperor in writing sir Thomas, that the Sultan's terms should accompany them which was agreed to with seeming satisfaction on all sides, but with dissembled by Sultan Currom On the 26th of March, sir Thomas Roe delivered his demands to the emperor at the public audience they were disposed into

nineteen articles*, which comprehended every necessary provision for the safety and success of the company's trade in the

1616.
March.

- * The articles, as penned by sir Thomas Roe, were,
- i That there be perpetual peace and amity between the king of Great Britain and his Indian majesty
- ii That the subjects of England have free trade in all ports of India
- iii That the governors of all ports publish this agreement three times, upon the arrival of any English ships
- iv *That the merchants and their servants shall not be searched or ill used*
- v *That no presents sent to the Mogul shall be opened*
- vi *That the English goods shall not be stopped above twenty-four hours at the custom-house, only to be there sealed, and sent to the merchant's house, there to be opened and rated within six days after*
- vii *That no governor shall take any goods by force, but upon payment at the owner's price, nor any taken upon pretence of the king's service*
- viii *That the merchants shall not be hindered selling their goods to whom they please, or sending them to other factories, and this without paying any other duty than what is paid at the port*
- ix *That whatsoever goods the English buy in any part of the Mogul's dominions, they may send down to the ports, without paying any duty more than shall be agreed on at the port at shipping them, and this without hindrance or molestation*
- x *That no goods brought to any port shall be again opened, the English shewing a certificate of their numbers, qualities, and conditions, from the governor or officers of the place where they were bought*
- xi *That no confiscation shall be made of the goods or money of any English dying*
- xii *That no custom be demanded for provisions during the stay of English ships at any port*
- xiii *That the merchants' servants, whether English or Indians, shall not be punished or beaten for doing their duty*
- xiv *That the Mogul shall punish any governor or officer for breach of any of these articles*
- xv *That the English ships shall suffer all others to pass and repass freely to the Mogul's ports, except their enemies, and that the English ashore shall behave themselves civilly as merchants*
- xvi *That they shall yearly furnish the Mogul with all rarities from Europe, and all other such things as he shall desire, at reasonable prices.*
- xvii. The

1616
March

the Mogul's dominions, and guarded, by special expression, against the repetition of such injuries and indignities as he himself had seen or suffered at Surat.

1615
Octob

emb

The vice roy Azevedo on his return to Goa armed a fleet of twelve ships and twelve smaller vessels, of which he gave the command to Ruy Freyre, a man of quality and an officer of reputation. They sailed at the end of October, in the preceding year and during the passage, as well as at the outset, took under their convoy all the trade of the coast bound to the northward. From Balzar near Daman, two of the ships went off to convoy the vessels bound into the gulph of Cambay, and to return with what were ready to sail from thence but Freyre, with the main body of his fleet, anchored at the bar of Surat from whence we suppose* the English ships, which had brought sir Thomas Roe expected to be attacked by him at Swally¹ Zulfacar Caun sent

xvii. The English to pay the duty of *three and a half per cent* for goods reasonably raised and *two per cent* for pieces of eight; and no other duty elsewhere

xviii. That the English shall be ready to assist the Mogul against all his enemies

xix. Lastly That the Portuguese may come into this peace within six months; or if they refuse the English be at liberty to exercise all hostilities against them.

* The journal of captain Peyton who commanded the ship Expedition, is the only one concerning this voyage; and it says nothing of what passed at Surat after the 5th of November to the departure of the ships; so that we speak of this armada, from the particular account given of it by Faria y Sousa, who even mentions the long names of twenty-three commanders, and nineteen hidalgos, commanding or serving in the different vessels; and commemoates with complacency the gallant disinterestedness of their admiral.

officers,

officers, with two boats from the city, laden, as he said, with provisions, which he requested Ruy Fieyie to accept, but they contained bales of curious cloths and silks, which Fieyrc opened, examined, praised, and returned to the officers, in the presence of all his captains, whom he had summoned to participate in the refusal, but reserved one piece, which was a shawl, and professed the same assurance of his services to the governor, as if he had accepted the whole present. The shawl was dedicated to the fairest mistress. The fleet sailed to Diu and Gogo, whilst the trading vessels were preparing at Cambay, which joined at the end of December, and was the largest convoy of many years. Off Daman they were assailed by a violent tempest, which wrecked or sunk four ships of the armada, and only one man was saved out of thice of them, of the other, all. Thus ended this cruise, without giving any molestation to the English ships, notwithstanding the late pretended treaty with the government of Surat; who were probably deterred by the respect with which they were ordered to treat sir Thomas Roe, from encouraging the armada to the hostilities they wished.

1616
1615.
Novemb.

Decemb.

1616

In February the English ships sailed from Swally, and proceeded as usual down the coast. On the 29th they took a Portuguese ship, and on the 3d of March anchored at Calicut, where the SAMORIN, always at enmity, and now at war with that nation, having heard, from the merchants of

Feb
March.

1616
March

his own port the fame of captain Downton's defence at Surat in the preceding year sent his minister to invite the English general, Keeling, to meet him at Crangainore, which he was besieging. In the way thither, the flups took another prize and on receiving a hostage for the visit, Keeling went on shore. The Samorin received him with much complacence, and requested to enter into a league with the English nation which was concluded on the 8th and expressed in provisional promises, opening with these words "As I have been ever an enemy to the Portuguese, so do I purpose to continue for ever." He then "promises to give the fort and island of Crangainore, when taken, with nine miles of the coast but reserves a house, and the residence of a hundred of his own people in the island engageth to take Cochin with the aid of the English and to give it them with the whole kingdom but the charge and spoil of the capture to be equally shared and lastly exempts them from all duties and customs throughout his dominions the terms to be perpetual" which induced Keeling to leave three factors with a youth, to manage some trade and a gunner to serve the Samorin. The flups sailed from Crangainore on the 10th of March when one went off for England the other three took two more prizes before they quitted the coast when separating two went for Atchun and the other for Bansam. The Samorin instead of favouring the factors he had invited to remain in his country, exacted presents from them and they

they were glad to get away with their goods to Callicut, where they took up their residence in April, and met with all discouragement, excepting open violence, which was sometimes threatened, in consequence of their own indiscretions. Such was the origin of the factory at Callicut, which has continued ever since.

Sultan Curiom and Asiph Jah not only continued their opposition to the demands of sir Thomas Roe, but even treated him more than once with ill manners, in the presence of the emperor, who repaired their affronts by the constant courtesy of his own behaviour, but decided nothing in the business, which, left at large to its enemies, they introduced deputies from the Portuguese government, with presents, and the offer of other jewels of rare value, at low prices, and by holding out the trade of the Red-sea, and the pilgrimage to Mecca, as dependant on the will of the Portuguese, turned the respect of the court to their alliance, and excited equal aversion towards the English, insomuch that sir Thomas Roe had made no progress in the treaty at the end of July, when he received a firmaund from Mahobet Caun at Brampoore, granting all the immunities he had requested of him for the trade of Broach*, by which, besides other advantages, a

July

saving

* The words of sir Thomas Roe will best describe his opinion of the validity of these privileges to which we shall add what more may be pertinent to this discussion

" The two and twentieth (of July 1616) I received letters from Brampore, " in answer of those to Mahobet Chan, who at first (request) granted my desire,

1616
July faring was procured in the customs alone of one thousand
five hundred pounds a year and the grant was not likely
to

" making his serman to BAROON most effectual to receive our nation and to
 " give them a house near the governor; strictly commanding no man to molest
 " them by sea or land, or to take any customs of them or any way trouble them
 " a day colour thereof. Finally that they might buy sell and transport any
 " commodity at their pleasures, without any molestation, concluding, that
 " they should expect to hear no other from him, and therefore they should be
 " careful in execution. I received with it a letter from himself which was more
 " civilly than all the Indies yielded me full of courtesy and humanity and
 " great respect, protesting his desire to give me content, and that what I had
 " demanded I should make no doubt of performance and if I had any other
 " occasion to use him he desired me to write and it should be performed. The
 " copies are worthy the seeing, for the rareness of the phrase. The serman
 " I caused to be sent to Surat (in order to be forwarded by the agency there;
 " Broach) so that BAROON is provided for a good retreat from the PRINCE'S
 " injuries, and the customes whereby fifteen hundred pounds per annum
 " will be saved besides all manner of searches and extortions. If the per-
 " formance of this no man maketh any doubt, for that all men confess, that he
 " neither careth for the prince and so feareth not, nor needeth any man being
 " the only beloved man of the king, and second person in his dominions, and
 " in all his life so liberal of his purse, and honourable of his word that he hath
 " ingrossed good reports from all others and concerning customes the king
 " takes none the governors make it their profit which he professeth to scorn
 " that he shoulde abuse the liberty of the king port.

We cannot discover what office at the state was held by Mahobet Caw,
 which entitled him to give this patent for Broach: he is mentioned by Sir
 Thomas Roe as one of the principal generals in the army commanded by
 Sultan Parviz and Chan Chaman at Brampore but could scarcely be the go-
 vernor of this city since Sir Thomas Roe was treated there with neglect and slight, when on his journey to Amdur in 1615; at which time Ahmedabad was
 governed by Abdalla Caw and Surat belonged to Sultan Carrum. Sir Thomas
 Herbert, who arrived at Surat in 1626, when mentioning the revolt of Sultan
 Carrum in April 1625 and his march to seize the castle of Agra, says, The
 " PRINCE immediately commands all his officers out of such provinces as his
 " father had signified him from Brampore to Surat, and all Cambays to Amdur
 " abdabat, the governors of BAROON JASBESFIR Medespore and of the maritime
 " ports Goga, Dival Vayerry Mengeripore and Ormepore; as also out of
 " Mando

to be repealed during the life of Gehanghne, from the high respect and esteem in which he had always held the exalted character of Mahobet Caun 1616

The emperor's birth-day fell on the 2d of September, and at the assembly of congratulation, Sir Thomas Roe told Asiph Jah, the vizier, that having now waited seven months without effect, he should, on the morrow, request the emperor to declare the causes of the delay, and what he really meant to grant. Asiph Jah apologized, imputing the hindrance to the preparations for the feast (which as usual had superseded all other attentions) but promised, now it was over, to expedite

Sept

"Mando, Gandersee, Oudepore, Barrier, Aminadagar, &c in an enterprise so full of peril, desirous to engage and bring them under like hazard, the better to oblige their future dependance upon his fortunes and so, with no less than seventy thousand horse, he marches towards Mando, as if he intended a contrary progress." If this report be authentic, Broach and Surat were under the same government in 1622, and so they seem to have been in 1614, by the applications of Captain Downton, on his arrival, to the government of Surat, for the redress of grievances at Broach.

"In quondam times," says Sir Thomas Herbert, "the royalties of Broach were spacious, as soveraigning over many towns and provinces of note a great way distant, as Medapori, seventy miles thence, Radgeapore or Bradera, eighty, Jornbaffer, thirty, and Janagar, in Soret, each of which now enjoys peculiar podestries howbeit, the Mogul has received hercoul, as an annual tax or tribute, no less than one million two hundred and threescore thousand mamooders (or shillings in our money) which revenue, from one province, shews what a vast exchequer all his empire yearly contributeth." Sixty thousand pounds was then the annual revenue of Broach, and Jehangire, from policy as well as particular affection, might have entrusted this government to the integrity of Mahobet Caun, by a special commission, for Ahmedabad and Surat were in the hands of rapine. Sir Thomas Herbert, as well as Mr Dow, gives the whole life of Tchingire, and in the latter revolution of this reign, MAHOBET CAUN appears the greatest captain and character in the empire. Leisure may be amused by comparing the accounts of these two writers

the

1616
Sept. the privileges he solicited before all other business: but in the discussion which ensued by appointment, Asiph Jah at last declared that seeing the terms were so drawn as to exempt the English and their trade at Surat from any dependance on the authority of Sultan Currom he himself would never give his consent to them Sir Thomas Roe kept his temper offered to make a new model and sent it, with request that it might receive the seal or he be permitted to receive the denial from the emperor and so depart the country Asiph Jah refused the seal but offered Sultan Currom's phurmaund which he said would be sufficient Sir Thomas, seeing no better resource, changed his ground and adopted the appearance of relying entirely on the Sultan's favour to whose secretary Socorolla he had sent four articles* to be expedited for the use of the factory at Surat, when the ships expected from England should arrive he accordingly attended the Durbar or public audience of the Sultan on the 10th who, not without haughtiness, delivered the phurmaund in which the articles were altered and abridged. Socorolla bore the repute of an honest man who took no bribes Sir Thomas visited him and represented the objections on which he admitted the first meanings, and gave a phurmaund, expressed in very effectual terms, and with it a letter to the governor of Surat, commanding the custom-master to pay for fifty pieces of broad cloth, which he had purchased many months before

* These articles are not published in Sir Thomas Roe's journal.

of the factory, and wanted to return, because the price had fallen He likewise frankly explained the Sultan's wish, that sir Thomas Roe should rely on him in the businesses of his own government, instead of crossing him by requests to the emperor in which case he would be found a better friend than sir Thomas expected who repaid these professions by a visit to the Sultan

1616
Septemb

On the 25th of September arrived four ships from England, which left the land's-end on the 18th of March, in company with two others, of which one separated during a violent gale of wind in the bay of Biscay, and the other tarried behind at the Cape, but both at length got safe to Bantam, whither they were bound The four ships were under the command of general Joseph, a brave and long experienced mariner, and came on, as all * which had hitherto come to Surat, through

March.

* They were

The Hector, captain Hawkins, in 1607, 1608

The Ascension, captain Alexander Sharpburgh, in 1608, 1609

The Trade's Increase, the Pepper-Corn, the Darling, under sir Henry Middleton, in 1610, 1611

The Dragon and Hoslander, under captain Best in 1612

The Expedition, captain Christopher Newport, which went to Gundal and Daulsinde, but did not come on to Surat, in 1613

The New Year's Gift, the Hector, the Merchant's Hope, the Solomon, under captain Nicholas Downton, in 1614, 1615

The Expedition, Dragon, Lyon, Pepper-Corn, which brought sir Thomas Roe This fleet was commanded by captain Keeling the voyage written by Walter Peyton, captain of the Expedition, in 1615, 1616

The ships which arrived this year 1616, and had sailed under the command of captain Joseph, were, the Charles, the Unicorn, the James, the Globe

the

1616 the inner channel between Madagascar and the main at the head of which amongst the islands of Comora they descried at day break of the 5th of August a carrack of enormous size bearing the Portuguese flag at the main top mast head and steering the same course. The Globe which sailed the best but was the smallest of Joseph's squadron, chased came up at noon to windward haled and received opprobrious language, with a command to fall to leeward which not doing the carrack fired five great shot, each of which went through her whilst she returned eighteen of much less effect, and fell astern. The carrack was commanded by Don Manuel de Meneses, admiral of three, which had sailed this year from Lisbon bound to Goa. At three in the afternoon, captain Joseph came up in his ship the Charles, which was of one thousand tons and hailing bid the commander of the carrack come on board to account for his attack on the Globe but was answered that he had no boat on which he sent his own which brought three officers with a message "that Don Meneses had promised his master the king of Spain not to quit his ship out of which he might be forced but never commanded." Joseph repeated the summons in writing and said to the officers, that he wouldest sink by his side or compel him. Meneses persisted the fight began in a few minutes a shot killed captain Joseph the master continued the engagement half an hour when night approaching he fell off to call a council and captain Pepwell,

of the James, who was the vice-admiral, took the command of the Charles, and the squadron Meneses kept out a light to direct his enemies, but the next morning, of the 7th, was at anchor so near the shore, that Pepwell did not deem it prudent to attack him in that situation In the evening Meneses set sail, leading out to the open sea, and when dark, again hoisted his light, which led to the encounter at sun-rise

1616
Sept
August

Captain Pepwell had instructed his ships to engage by turns, and began himself in the Charles, which had not continued half an hour, when a bullet from the carrack struck one of the noon guns, which shivered it its fragments could not have chosen better execution, for, besides dangerously wounding three of the common seamen, and tearing the master's arm, one piece struck out the eye of captain Pepwell, and two others wounded him in the jaw and leg The mate took up the command of his disabled superiors, and deserved it, maintaining the fight with vengeance beyond the share of time, when the other ships took their turns with the same ardour, which the carrack resisted until three in the afternoon, by which time her main-mast and mizen-mast were brought by the board, her fore-top-mast shot away, and her sides shattered into several breaches. The island of Angazija was not far off, to which she turned with what little sail she could set, and stood in so near the shore, that the English ships would not venture to follow her close, but a boat was sent with Mr Connock, the principal merchant, and a flag of truce

1616

SeptAugst

truce, as a signal of parley which was accepted by another Menesca received Mr Connock with courtesy but was not moved either by the offers, or admiration due to his valour to desist from his first resolve and said that if able, he would get out to sea again on the morrow and renew the fight when if taken he expected the treatment of a gentleman* In the night the wind and surf grew high the carrack drove, and for want of sail to weather the danger struck and was jammed between two rocks which stretching inward within a step of the shore relieved the crew from the solicitude of their own preservation, and gave them time to set the carrack on fire which blazed amain at midnight. They carried off what they chose of the treasure, of which the whole on board was to a great amount, and all the jewels. The English ships kept near throughout the next day in hopes of gleaning valuable drifts, but took up nothing and bore away for refreshment to the neighbouring island of Mohila, where they arrived on the 10th. The natives of Angazja regarded the crew of the shipwreck as invaders, and assailed them with stones but ceased on the display and offer of presents until they had received them when instead of returning provisions, they renewed their attacks on which the Portuguese employed their hand-guns, and lost, in the retreat of the natives the only hopes of sustenance. In this distress the admi

* FARIA says, he threatened to hang the next person who should bring him a proposal of surrender.

1616
Sept

ral Meneses yielded to the advice of his cannoneer, as more practised in the voyages of India, to throw their guns into the sea , when the natives returned in great numbers, and over-powered them , and then stripped them of all their clothes and raiment, setting so much value on every thing which might serve for their own, that they threw away the dollars, in order to put their heads into the empty bags The Portuguese wandered in different companies to gain food , many endured much distress, and some died , but all were protected by their nakedness from farther insult The pilot, and a few more, went in the boat (soi, notwithstanding the first denial to captain Joseph, they had one) and coasted to find a more hospitable shore , they fortunately met two junks belonging to a Mahomedan, which came from *Pate* on the main, and were going for trade to Madagascar. This man took up the boat, and, having influence with the chief of that part of the island where the ship was wrecked, sailed thither, collected all the Portuguese, clothed them, gathered their treasure, secured their jewels, and sent them away in his own vessels to their own port of Mombaze, where they arrived on the 4th of September, and were afterwards conveyed to Goa Here the valour and misfortunes of Meneses were received by the viceroy, Azevedo, and the city, with the highest veneration , he was sent back to Lisbon in an advice-boat, and arrived safe, to receive the same acknowledgments in his own country And indeed his defeat merited a trophy of victory , for his

1616
SPT force bore no proportion to the English ships* of which nevertheless, either of the strongest would probably have maintained an equal contest against the same superiority for at this time the highest spirit of military honour animated all the officers and seamen of the COMPANY'S marine.

On the 24th sir Thomas received intelligence of the arrival of the four ships at Swally with the letters to himself and presented the compliments of his sovereign to the emperor who turned through the mere decent enquiries, to question what presents the KING had sent hoping jewels but disappointed asked for velvets and was much pleased that two dogs had escaped the fight of which he spoke with praise but was much vexed that the great horse had not come, and offered a lack of rupees if sir Thomas Roe would procure him one who requested that the presents might be sent up without search or tax and that the people of the ships might receive good usage The emperor said the port

Edward Terry who was afterwards chaplain to sir Thomas Roe sailed in the *Charles* which he calls a "new built goodly ship of a thousand tons the "Unicorn a new ship likewise, and almost of as great burthen; the James a "great ship too the *Globe* a lesser He likewise says, that "seven hundred "men sailed in the *Carrack*, for she was a ship of exceeding great bulk and bur- den our *Charles*, though a ship of a thousand tons, looking but like a pla- nace when she was beside her Also, that only five men were killed in the fight, three in the *Charles*, two in the *James*, and about twenty wounded in all the four ships.

sir Thomas Roe says, that "the *Carrack* was of fifteen hundred tons burthen;" and that "Don Emanuel Meneses had twice been general of their forces; but not in India, where he neither appears before or after this voyage.

of Suiat was his son's, but sent for him, and gave positive orders in public concerning the presents and people, conformably to sir Thomas Roc's desire

1616.
Sept

The company, although they had approved, and perhaps solicited, the embassy of sir Thomas Roc, had not empowered him to controul the conduct of their own servants at Suiat and its dependencies, who seem to have availed themselves of this exemption, with much less respect than was due to such a character*. The ships now arrived, brought orders to prosecute the intention of establishing a trade in the kingdom of Persia, although the success of Steele and Crouther, who had been sent for this purpose from Suiat in the beginning of the preceding year, was not known in England at the departure of the ships.

Octob

These travellers passing by Candahar, arrived at Ispahan on the 18th of September, where they found sir Robert Shirley on departure to execute another commission from the Sophy

The means by which the two extraordinary adventurers of that name obtained such important employment from the ablest and fiercest sovereign of the east, would not have borne

* "Your factors sent me four or five clauses of your commission that concerned Persia, a fort, a plantation in Bengal, all which they knew were not of use with no other proposition or resolution they will acquaint me They cannot abide I should understand or direct them If they resolve of any thing in their opinion for your profit, I will effect the court-part, but you will find in my letters and journal how they use me, which doubtless at first was sown by some jealousy of yours, which will cost you dearly"

much

1616
Oct

382

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE

much respect in our times, which permit no enthusiasms to cover or consecrate the latent views of luxurios ambition
ANTHONY SHIRLEY the elder brother of Robert, was a dependent on the Earl of Essex who sent him, in 1598 with some soldiers to fight for the duke of Ferara against the pope but by the time they arrived in Italy the quarrel was reconciled Essex nevertheless, unwilling that his Knight should return to England with the detision of having done nothing, not only consented to his proposal of proceeding to Persia with offer of service to Shah Abbas, whose fame had spread with much renown throughout Europe but also furnished him with money and bills for the journey **SHIRLEY** embarked from Venice, in May 1599, with twenty five followers, some of education all of resolution, and amongst them his brother Robert, at that time a youth After various escapes by sea and land they arrived at Aleppo, where getting money for their bills, they proceeded in the company of a large caravan to Bagdad Shirley professing himself a merchant who expected goods by the next; but this pretence, and the number of his retinue, excited suspicions and all he brought was seized at the custom-house which reduced them to live on the piecemeal sale of the clothes they wore his anxiety in this situation was observed by a Florentine named Vittorio Spicciari, who was proceeding to Ormus in order to embark for China and had frequently conversed with Shirley during the journey from Aleppo He tried by repeated questions to

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discover

1616.
Octob

discover his real condition and purpose, but failing, made up his own conjectures, that Shirley intended some signal mischief either against the Turkish empire, or the sovereignty of the Portuguese in India, of which the one was as detestable to his piety, as the other to his traffic from these motives, mixed perhaps with admiration of a character, which knew to personate romantic dignity, the Florentine determined not only to extricate him from the dangers of his present situation, but enable him to prosecute his views, whatsoever they might be. The emergency pressed for the second caravan from Aleppo was come within ten days of Bagdad, and Spiccia knew, that when the goods which Shuley had pretended to expect, should not appear, he and all his followers would be doomed to imprisonment, if not worse. Fortunately, a caravan returning from Mecca to Persia arrived at this time, and encamped under the walls. Spiccia lived amongst them camels, horses, with all other necessaries of travel, and when the caravan was ready to depart, revealed to Shirley the dangers which awaited him, and the measures he had taken for his preservation and success, confirming these assurances by the delivery of a great sum in gold, and many rarities of great value, so much in the whole amount, that Shirley declines to mention it, because he says it would not be believed. The Florentine left it to his honour to repay him when he could, and, for five days after the departure of the caravan, diverted suspicions of his escape by living in Shirley's house,

to

1616
Oct 6 to whom he pretended to have lent his own that he might recover in more quiet from a fit of illness he even requested the governor for his physician knowing he had none but was afterwards fined severely for these generous collusions.

Fifty janissaries were sent in pursuit of Shirley but missed the caravan which employed fifty days on the march to Casbin where the aids of Spiciera enabled Shirley to equip himself and followers in sumptuous array to live splendidly and to make presents which procured commendations to Shah Abbas, who arrived at Casbin a month after and was saluted by Shirley and his company at his entrance into the city when the king distinguished him with the most honourable notice. The next day Shirley sent the king a present of jewels and Italian rarities, which were not only curious, but costly beyond the expectation of homage and the more he professed that he had come to offer his service on his own account and at his own expence the more the king inclined to believe that the denial was intended by concealing to heighten the elegant compliment of his monarch and at all events could not resist the complacence of regarding the resort of this band of strangers as a signal proof of the great extent of his own fame which Shirley took care on all occasions to inculcate.

It was the way of Shah Abbas, to discern those he employed by familiarities. Shirley was solemn in behaviour pompous

1616.
Orob.

pompous in elocution, quick in apprehension, and guarded in argument, and having served both at land and sea, was capable of suggesting the military ideas of Europe, which could not fail to attract the attention of a monarch whose ruling passion was the fame of war he even visited Shirley in his house, to examine a book of fortifications, and having, during a daily converse of six weeks, treated him more with the respect of a guest, than the distance of a solicitor, on the very day before his departure to Cassan, declared him a *Mirza*, or lord, in his service, and referred him to the treasurer, who, as soon as the king was gone, sent to Shirley a present, which consisted of money to the amount of sixteen thousand ducats, forty horses, all accoutred, two, intended for his brother and himself, with saddles plated with gold, and set with rubies and torquoises, the others, with silver and embroidered velvet, twelve camels laden with tents, and all furniture, not only for the field, but for his house in Casbin, which likewise was bestowed on him he was ordered to follow the king to Cassan, from whence he accompanied him to Ispahan, and was treated by him with the same deference as before he had accepted his service

Daily and artful suggestions prepared the way to the advice which Shirley had long premeditated, that the king should renew the war against the Turks, and depute an ambassador to excite the princes of Christendom to co-operate by land and sea from the west, whilst Persia invaded the

1616
Offered

Turkish territories on the east this commission Shirley designed for himself but avoided the mention. Nevertheless this intention was penetrated by the vizir and several other of the principal noblemen who said that the proposal was the artful scheme of a needy adventurer seeking the sumptuous enjoyment of exalted fortune at the risk of an empire but the king inclined to the war which he regarded as inevitable and reasoned that if the mission of Shirley should be ineffectual, the detriment would be no more than the loss of the expence which he foresaw would even in this event increase the reputation of his magnificence without diminishing the solid estimation of his abilities.

But whilst he was weighing in his own mind the ultimate probabilities of success, two incidents intervened, which were of opposite tendency to each other in the decision of this important question

The Portuguese at Ormus, who with all their possessions in the east as well as their state in Europe, were at this time subject to the king of Spain had stopped a present of thirteen female slaves, which the Great Mogul Acbar had sent to Shah Abbas, and nine others which had been purchased for Alaverdi Khan the military favourite of Shah Abbas, who had hitherto encouraged the schemes of Shirley but this injury changed his opinions, and urged him to join with Shirley's opponents in representations, that it would be vain for the king to place any reliance on the christian princes in

Europe,

Europe, since the subjects of one of them, from whose alliance much was expected, had dared to commit such an outrage against his majesty, at the very gate, as it were, of his own dominions

1616
Oulob

The other event, was the arrival and conduct of an ambassador from the Grand Signior, who came from Bagdad, where he commanded the janissaries of the garrison. This man, in a very pompous speech at his audience, required the king to restore the prince of Chorasan and his people, whom he had lately subdued, to their former state and condition and demanded the return of ten thousand families, which had quitted their country under the Turk, to seek refuge in that part of Kurdistan which was subject to Persia. To these impious demands, he added reasons, arguments, and advice, in terms which would have been insulting even from a pedagogue to his pupil. The king answered with temperate magnanimity, in what related to his own rights, against the demands of the Grand Signior, and bid the ambassador depart, as a fool unfit to be employed on the business he had been sent he appeared no more.

The next morning the king went to Shirley's house, and entered fully into the discussion of the war and embassy to Europe, affecting to expect little hope from it, but to comply merely as a testimony of his extreme regard to Shirley, from whom he had received such undoubted proof of his own, by the fatigue and expence of his journey to Persia, and the

1616
Octob^r niskes to which he now offered to expose himself for his service. Shirley in a very long discourse explained all the probabilities of his plan that the emperor of Germany was already at war with the Turks that the pope would excite all the other catholic princes that the king of Spain was at continual enmity with the government of Algiers, which was subservient to the Turkish empire that the invitations of the king would attract merchants, and christians of all other arts, trades and occupations, who would not only increase the commerce of his country, but introduce new methods and inventions of great utility especially to the improvement of his warfare and that the liberal schism of religion which the king wished to promote as a descendant of Sefi between his own subjects and the Turks, would be encouraged by the intercourse of christians, whom they would be accustomed to see drinking wine and exercising other tolerances, which the Turks held in detestation

The king full cautiously avoided any expressions which might indicate much expectation, or any solicitude of assistance from the christian princes in which he properly maintained his own dignity by not trusting to the report of a stranger such a confession of the hopes or wishes he might entertain but appeared much content with the probability of drawing European merchants to his country for the increase of its trade had long been a principal attention of his government. On this ground he consented to the embassy

1616.
Odeob

and required Shirley to undertake it, who, after many apologies of his insufficiency, accepted the commission with as much satisfaction as he had pretended disidence Shirley requested, that a young nobleman of distinction, named Assan Cawn, might accompany him, to be the witness of his conduct, which was granted, but soon after revoked by reason of his marriage with an aunt of the king, when Shirley, to conciliate the vizir, and other ministers, accepted Cuchim Allabi, a man of ordinary rank, and suspected character As Shirley could not pass through the Turkish dominions to Aleppo, excepting in disguise, it was resolved that he should proceed through Russia, which at this time was so little frequented by travellers, and so suspicious of them, that the king sent forward one of his officers as an ambassador to the Czar, in order to announce his mission, and to procure him good reception through the country.

The day before the day appointed for his departure, the king visited him, as if to recapitulate all the points of the various negotiations which he had entrusted to his conduct, and now, with his usual foresight and sagacity, broke his last proposal, which, although dictated by warrantable suspicion, he clothed with the garb of elegant compliment It was, that Robert Shirley should remain at his court during his brother's absence Robert was present, and, without waiting his brother's answer, proffered himself to remain This resolution produced a new arrangement in the retinue of Anthony; and

1616 and several of his English followers were left with Robert.
0866 The king as the last compliment, according to Shirley's relation rode with him, when he set out, six miles on the way from Ispahan and then he says, took leave of him not without tears although they had never spoke to one another but through an interpreter¹

The travellers were two months, not without evil chances, before they had passed the Caspian to Astrachan, where they found the ambassador, sent to the Czar * * * *

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* This curious tract was left unfinished by the Author

**GENERAL IDEA
OF THE
GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE
OF
INDOSTAN.**

**BY
ROBERT ORME.**

September 1st, 1753.

Some small parts of this ESSAY, and of a
lent one,
on the EPIDEMIC OF THE INHABITANTS OF INDOSTAN
are printed in the DISSERTATION prefixed to the first
volume of the MILITARY TRANSACTIONS of the first
NATION in Indostan but the WHOLE is here reprinted
from the Author's manuscript, that the narrative may not be
broken into

P R E F A C E

ALL general ideas are subject to exceptions, and I doubt not but that several may be made to this General Description of the Government and People of Indostan. But if the far greater number of the examples which may be produced, are correspondent to my observations, the intent of giving a general idea is answered.

I can only say in favour of the following sheets, that they are the result of an attention given to this subject during a residence of several years in India, and that although I may be deceived myself, I can have no end in misleading others.

I am of opinion, that some reflections, of no mean importance to the commerce of the Indies, may be drawn from an attention to this work.

C O N T E N T S.

B O O K I.

OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF INDOSTAN

- Cap. I Nature of the government of Indostan in general
- II Particular government of the provinces
- III Of the lands
- IV. Of the mechanics
- V Of the arts and sciences
- VI Of the people
- VII Of the manufactures
- VIII Of the trade
- IX Of the war

B O O K II

CHARACTER OF THE MOORS AND GENTOOES OF INDOSTAN

- Cap. I Of the Moors of Indostan
- II Manners of the Moors
- III Of the politeness and ceremonials of the Moors
- IV Of their dissimulation
- V Of the Gentoos in general.
- VI Of the Brachmans
- VII Of the Gentoo principalities.

C O N T E N T S.

B O O K III

OF THE LAWS AND JUSTICE OF INDOSTAN

- CAP I Of the laws of Indostan.
- II Of civil cases.
- III Inheritance and commerce permitted and from
hence arise the civil cases of Indostan.
- IV Spirit of the Moors and of the Gentoos, in litigious
contentions
 - V Of the administration of justice in civil cases.
 - VI Of arbitrations.
 - VII An objection answered.
 - VIII Abuse of the forms of justice.
 - IX General idea of the oppressions of the government
 - X Of criminal cases, and of the justice administered
in them
 - XI A reflection.

OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF INDOSTAN.

BOOK I

CAP. I

Nature of the Government of Indostan in general

WHOEVER considers the vast extent of the empire of Indostan, will easily conceive, that the influence of the emperor, however despotic, can but faintly reach those parts of his dominion which lay at the greatest distance from his capital.

This extent has occasioned the division of the whole kingdom into distinct provinces, over each of which the *Mogul* appoints a *Vice Roy*.

These Vice Rocs are, in their provinces, called *Nabobs*, and their territories are again subdivided into particular districts, many of which are under the government of *Rajahs*. These are the descendants of such *Gentoo Princes*, who, before the conquest of the kingdom, ruled over the same districts.

The Gentoos, having vastly the superiority in numbers throughout the kingdom, have obliged the Moors to submit to this regulation in their government.

The Nabobs ought annually to remit to the throne the revenues of their provinces, which are either ascertained at a fixed sum, or are to be the total produce of the country, authen-

authenticated by regular accounts, after deductions made for the expences of the government.

If the officers of the throne are satisfied which is oftener effected by intrigue, than by the justice of his administration the Nabob continues in favour if not, another is appointed to succeed him.

A new appointed Nabob set out from Delhi, riding with his back turned to the head of his elephant his attendants asked him the reason of that uncustomary posture he said that he was looking out for his successor.

On the temper of the Nabob or his favourites, depends the happiness or misery of the province On the temper of the King or his ministers, depends the security of the Nabob and his favourites.

The *Rajahs* who govern in particular districts, are, notwithstanding their hereditary right subject to the caprice and power of the Nabob, as the army is with him.

Even this appointment of Vice Rois was found too weak a representation of the Royal Power in the extreme parts of the kingdom to which orders from the court are three months in arriving.

This insurmountable inconvenience occasioned the subjecting several provinces with their distinct Nabobs, to the authority of one, who is deemed the highest representative of the Mogul.

Princes of this rank are called *Subahs*. *NIZAMULMULUCK* was Subah of the *Deccan* (or southern) provinces. He had

under his government all the countries laying to the south of *Aurengabad*, bordered on the west by the *Morattoes* and the *Malabar* coast, to the eastward extending to the sea. The *Nabobs* of *Condanore*, *Cudapah*, *Carnatica*, *Valore*, &c. the Kings of *Tutchinopoly*, *Mysore*, *Tanjore*, are subject to this *Subahship*. Here is a subject ruling a larger empire than any in Europe, excepting that of the *Huscoote*.

The consequence of so large a dominion at such a distance from the capital has been, that an active, wily prince, could overwhelm the empire itself, which *Nizam Ali Mereek* actually did by bringing *Tirumay Korri Khan* into the kingdom.

Arravind Khan the Prince of Bengal is a *Subah*. He too lies at a vast distance from Delhi. He is a great warrior, and has never paid the court any tribute. The *Morattoes* were sent as *free-booters* into his country, to divert him from attempting the throne itself. He has, notwithstanding, been able to add to his dominion the whole province of *Patna*, which before was dependant only on the King. His relations are at this time the *Nabobs* of that province.

Thus the contumacy of *Lie-regents* respecting their sovereign, or battling amongst themselves, is continually productive of such scenes of bloodshed, and of such deplorable devastations, as no other nation in the universe is subject to.

If the subjects of a despotic power are every where miserable, the miseries of the people of Indostan are multiplied.

upheld by the incapacity of the power to controul the vast extent of its dominion

CAP. II

Particular Government of the Provinces

Every province is governed by a subordination of Officers, who hold from no other power than that of the Nabob

Nabob (derived from *Naib* a word signifying deputy) is a title which at Delhi none but those who are styled thus in a commission given by the King dare to assume. In distant provinces *Nabobs* have governed who have been registered as dead at Delhi. A Nabob, although appointed by a Subah, ought to have his commission confirmed by the King, or one with an authentic commission appears to supplant him. He then depends upon his own force or the support of his Subah and a war between the competitors ensues.

A Nabob is so far despotic in his government as he can rely upon the protection of his sovereign or his superior. Secure of this, he has nothing to apprehend but poison or assassination from the treachery or resentment of his subjects.

Nabobs more particularly attach themselves to the command of the army and leave the civil administration to the

Duan

Duan—

Duan is properly the judge of the province in civil matters. This office is commonly devolved on a Gentoo, in provinces which by their vicinity or importance to the throne, are more immediately subject to its attention. This officer holds his commission from the King. But by the nature of the government of Indostan, where all look only to one head, he is never more than an assistant—he may be a spy, he cannot be a rival to the power of the Nabob.

He therefore comprehends in his person the offices of *Prime Minister*, *Lord Chancellor*, and *Secretary of State*, without presuming to advise, judge, or issue orders, but according to the will of his master, or to the influence which he has over it. Under the Duan is an officer called the *Buggshi*, or *Butcy*, who is the paymaster of the troops, and the disburser of all the public expences of the government—This must be a post of great advantage. The *Butcy* has under him an *Amuldar*, who is the overseer and manager of all the occasions of expence.

Revenues, imposts, and taxes, are levied throughout the country, by the appearance, if not by the force of the soldiers. The other officers of the province are therefore more immediately military.

Phousdar signifies the commander of a detached body of the army, and in the military government, is a title next to that of the Nabob. As the governors of particular parts of

the province have always some troops under their command such governors are called *Phousdars* although very often the Nabob himself holds no more than this rank at the court of Delhi from whence all addresses to the rulers of inferior provinces, make use only of this term

Pollygar from the word *Pollum* which signifies a town situated in a wood is the governor of such a town and the country about it and is likewise become the title of all who rule any considerable town commanding a large district of land This term is only used on the coast of Coromandel In other provinces of the empire, all such governors pass under the general title of *Zemindars*

A *Hawildar* is the officer placed by the government to superintend a small village

The *Hawildar* plunders the village and is himself fleeced by the *Zemindar* the *Zemindar* by the *Phousdar* the *Phousdar* by the Nabob or his *Duan* The *Duan* is the Nabob's head slave and the Nabob compounds on the best terms he can make, with his *Subah* or the throne.

Wherever this gradation is interrupted bloodshed ensues.

Kellidar is the governor or commander of a fort

Munsubbar is now a title of honour held from the throne and exalted according to the number of horsemen which he is permitted in his commission to command There are *Munsubbars* of ten thousand and others of two hundred and

and fifty This title originally signified a commissioned officer, who by favour from the throne had obtained a particular district of lands, to be allotted for his maintenance instead of a salary

Zemindar, derived from *Zemin*, the word signifying lands, is the proprietor of a tract of land given in inheritance by the King or the Nabob, and who stipulates the revenue which he is to pay for the peaceable possession of it Such Zemindars are not now to be frequently met with, but the title every where it is transferred to all the little superintendants or officers under the Phousdar

Cazec is the mahomedan judge ecclesiastical, who supports and is supported by the *Alcoran* He is extremely venerated

In treating upon the administration of justice in Indostan, farther lights will be thrown upon this subject of the government of the provinces.

CAP III

Of the Lands

ALL the lands in the kingdom belong to the King therefore all the lands in the provinces are subject to the Nabob With him, or his representatives, farmers agree for the cultivation of such an extent, on reserving to themselves such a proportion of the produce This proportion is settled ac-

cording to the difficulty or ease of raising the grain, and seldom exceeds a third 1

On the coast of Coromandel where excessive heats and infrequent rains exact the utmost labour to bring rice to perfection if these farmers were not mildly dealt with they would undertake nothing, and the whole country would be famished Here therefore encouragement is given to them and the government will sometimes be at the expence of works to assist them in the labour of raising and conveying water through the land

The province of Bengal is the most fertile of any in the universe, more so than Egypt, and with greater certainty — A stratum of the richest mould upon a bottom of sand the equal level of the country and not a stone to be picked up in the space of some hundred miles, whilst shells are found every where. Such signs declare the soil to have been formed by the retreat of the sea and in such a soil excessive rains falling at particular periods, cannot but render the cultivation of it to be scarce a labour

The country about Dacca, where the Ganges disembogues itself by a hundred mouths into the ocean is alone sufficient to supply the whole province of Bengal with rice and every other part of the province if duly cultivated would produce exceedingly more than its occasions.

Here therefore the people depend more upon the elements than on themselves for subsistence. No encouragements are

given, or regulations made, concerning the grain, and the famine is as little exempt from violence, as any other subject. Nature, at times, will leave her ordinary course. If the rice countries fail, the severest of famines afflicts this land of excessive plenty, as no part of the province is cultivated in proportion to the wants of the inhabitants who reside on it.

This has happened in the year 1752 at Mysore, the capital of Bengal, rice became six times dearer than the usual price the consequence of which, in a country where nine-tenths of the people daily spend what they daily earn, may be easily conceived.

CAP. IV.

Of the Mechanicks.

THE mechanick or artificer will work only to the measure of his necessities. He dares to be distinguished. If he becomes too noted for having acquired a little more money than others of his craft, that will be taken from him. If conspicuous for the excellence of his skill, he is seized upon by some person in authority, and obliged to work for him night and day, on much harder terms than his usual labour acquired when at liberty.

Hence all emulation is destroyed, and all the luxury of an Asiatick empire has not been able to counteract by its propensity

penity to magnificence and splendour the dispiriting effects of that fear which reigns throughout, and without which a despotic power would reign no more

If any improvements have been made in the few years of a milder administration they are utterly lost again when the common methods of government succeed

Hence rudeness and inclemency are seen in all the works of wealth and magnificence and Milton has justly said

———The gorgeous east with richest hand
Pours on her sons *Be bane pearl and gold.*

4

C A P T

Of the Arts and Sciences.

In happier climes, the arts and sciences have been courted to heighten the blessings of life, or to assist the labours and wants of it.

But such a spirit cannot exist where mankind are treated on principles directly contrary to all ideas of their happiness

Were the ideas of virtue, morality and humanity discussed by such genii as have enlightened happier nations, notions would soon be established which would teach men what was due to them—notions which would overset every principle and every practice of the constitution

Who therefore shall dare to make such researches his study or discourse?

We cannot therefore admire, that arts and sciences of all kinds have been able to make no greater progress in the empire of Indostan

CAP VI.

Of the People.

WHERE the human race is struggling through such mighty ills as render its condition scarcely superior to that of the brutes of the field, shall we not expect to find throughout Indostan dreary plains, lands uncultivated, miserable villages thinly interspersed, desolated towns, and the number of inhabitants as much diminished as their miseries appear multiplied

On the contrary, we find a people equalling if not exceeding in numbers the most populous states, such as enjoy the best of governments and the best of laws

Effects of the climate of Indostan seem to counteract, in favour of the human race, the violences to which it is subject from the nature of the government.

1 The sun forbids the use of fuel, and renders the want of payment to be scarcely an inconvenience. 2 The bare earth, with the slightest hut over it, affords a repose without the danger of diseases to a people vastly temperate 3 Productions peculiar to the soil of India exceedingly contribute to the ease of various labours a convenient house may be built

built in three days, with no other materials than what are furnished by the bamboo and Lajan a boat with all its appurtenances, may be made from the single coco-nut tree which at the same time supplies oil and a nourishment in much request the ease of producing and manufacturing cotton is evinced by the plenty and price of linen 4 Health is best preserved in this climate, by the slightest and simplest diet perhaps it is from this consideration that religion has forbid the use of flesh meats and spirituous liquors amongst the Gentoos

Thus the general wants of other climates become extremely lessened in this. Now if men multiply in proportion to the ease of gaining a subsistence, it will no longer be admired that the kingdom of Indostan should, even under the iron sway of despotism continue populous especially if we add this better fundamental cause, which resulting like the other from the effects of the climate, is still rendered more effectual by the most sacred of customs

In Indostan the fecundity of the women is extreme and the propensity of the men to propagate their species is equal to it Every Gentoos is by his religion obliged to marry and is permitted to have more wives than one. It has been proved, that the number of females exceeds that of the males so that a plurality of wives produces not the effect in India, which it is imagined to do in other countries, that of decreasing the numbers of a people.

CAP VII

Of the Manufacturers

A people born under a sun too sultry to admit the exercise and fatigues necessary to form a robust nation, will naturally, from the weaknes of their bodies (especially if they have few wants), endeavour to obtain their scanty livelihood by the easiest labours

It is from hence, perhaps, that the manufactures of cloth are so multiplied in Indostan Spinning and weaving are the slightest tasks which a man can be set to, and the numbers that do nothing else in this country are exceeding

It is observable, that the manufacturers of cloth prevail most, both in quantity and perfection, in those provinces where the people are least capable of robust labours

In the northern parts of the kingdom, where the men have more bodily strength, they weave hair, or the coarsest of cloths

On the coast of Coromandel, and in the province of Bengal, when at some distance from the high road, or a principal town, it is difficult to find a village in which every man, woman, and child, is not employed in making a piece of cloth

The assistance which a wife and family are capable of affording to the labours of the loom, may have much con-

tributed to the preference given by a lazy people to this manufacture

The thread is laid the whole length of the piece of cloth; hence the weavers live entirely in villages, as they could work nowhere else in this manner.

A weaver amongst the Gentoos is no despicable cast. He is next to the scribe, and above all the mechanics. He would lose his cast were he to undertake a drudgery which did not immediately relate to his work.

After what has been said of the discouragements to which the mechanic of every denomination is subject it may be asked in what manner the amazing perfection to which the linen manufacture has been brought in Indostan can be accounted for.

The distinctions of dress in Indostan consist entirely in the fineness of the linen of which the habit is made. The habit has at this day the same cut which it had a thousand years ago. Ornaments of gold and silver are marks of foppery which are indulged only to the children jewels are not worn about the person excepting on particular occasions even by the grandees the richest man in the empire affects no other advantage in his dress, but that of linen extremely fine. The particularity of this taste must have been a great encouragement to the linen manufacture.

Let it be again observed that at present (whatever it may have been formerly) much the greatest part of whole provinces

vices are employed in this single manufacture and this will be allowed another good reason for the improvements which have been made in it

Other trades in Indostan are not subdivided as they are in Europe, where six or seven mechanics contribute to the making of a single instrument Here one man makes all the parts himself by which he becomes exceedingly liable to oppression, for when once his single person is secured, all that is necessary is secured

It is quite contrary in regard to the weaver to this trade six or seven hands contribute To get a piece of cloth made by compulsion, a man, with one or two wives, and five or six children, must be taken up, and instead of being confined to a narrow room, must be placed in a spacious orchard all this would be vastly inconvenient

If guards were placed upon the village, which is the only method of compulsion that can be used, the alarm would be taken, and half the country, by the retreat of these people, would be depopulated in a day's time

But cloth being the staple of the trade of Indostan, and trade in general being better encouraged than it usually is in a despotic state, such proceedings would too much injure the public revenues, in one of their greatest resources

This manufacture is therefore less liable to outrages, than any other trade, and hence another cause of its improvements

But it will be said that although these reasons may account for the quantities of cloth made in Indostan yet there remains a puzzle how works of such extraordinary niceness can be produced by a people who if what is said of their mechanics be true must be deprived of such tools as seem absolutely necessary to finish such fine manufactures.

The surprise will be heightened when we find that at Dacca in the province of Bengal, where all the cloths for the use of the king and his seraglio are made these are of such wonderful fineness as to exceed ten times the price of any linens permitted to be made for Europeans, or any one else in the kingdom.

As much as an Indian is born deficient in mechanical strength, so much is his whole frame endowed with an exceeding degree of sensibility and pliancy. The hand of an Indian cook wench shall be more delicate than that of an European beauty the skin and features of a porier shall be softer than those of a professed *petit maître*.

The women wind off the raw silk from the pod of the worm. A single pod of raw silk is divided into twenty different degrees of fineness and so exquisite is the feeling of these women that whilst the thread is running through their fingers so swiftly that their eye can be of no assistance, they will break it off exactly as the assortments change, at once from the first to the twentieth, from the nineteenth to the second.

The

The women likewise spin the thread designed for the cloths, and then deliver it to the men, who have fingers to model it as exquisitely as these have prepared it. For it is matter of fact, that the tools which they use are as simple and plain as they can be imagined to be. The rigid, clumsy fingers of an European would scarcely be able to make a piece of canvas, with the instruments which are all that an Indian employs in making a piece of cambric.

It is farther remarkable, that every distinct kind of cloth is the produce of a particular district, in which the fabric has been transmitted, perhaps for centuries, from father to son—a custom which must have conduced to the perfection of the manufacture.

I should perhaps, with my reader, have thought this detail of so simple a subject unnecessary, had I not considered, that the progress of the linen manufacture includes no less than a description of the lives of half the inhabitants of Indostan.

CAP. VIII

Of the Trade

THE numerous productions of Indostan, and the difference of wants in different parts of it, afford a large scope for an extensive trade within itself, which is carried on with no small degree of application, wherever the sword is sheathed,

The

The European nations importing balloon and metals, which the Indians want, and exporting the cloths which they can easily spare, have much contributed to confirm the spirit of trade

The king by being proprietor of the lands, sells to his subjects their subsistence, instead of receiving supplies from them Hence a resource exceeding that of all the taxes, imposts, and customs of other governments but still a resource incapable of producing gold or silver without the assistance of commerce.

The multitude of valuable productions, the cunning and industrious temper of the people, the avarice of the rulers of Indostan have all equally concurred to establish the extensive commerce of this country The government has found by repeated experience in the consequences of oppression that they best consult the interest of their revenues in consulting the security of their merchants.

The customs and imposts throughout Indostan are fixed and unalterable. The merchant may at any time make an exact calculation of the deductions to which his trade is subject. Customs paid at any of the Mogul's ports, are not to be demanded at any other for the space of twelve months.

The diamond mines like all other lands, are the property of the sovereign who receives a vast revenue from the farmers admitted to work in them. This revenue is certain, be the success what it will and all diamonds above a particular and very

very moderate weight, belong to the king The penalty of death, to all concerned in concealing a large stone, is executed with the utmost vigour, and is the cause why so few are seen in Europe, except when a Nazn Jing is murdered*

None but princes who have been as weak in their intellects as violent in their inclinations, have distressed the merchants under their jurisdiction, by outrages exceeding the common bounds of imposition, which the slavery of an Indian spirit contentedly receives as his lot

When the Europeans entered India, they found at Surat one of the greatest marts in the world Arabia, Persia, and China, were from hence supplied with cloths, and all other productions of the kingdom Later we have known a merchant of that city the sole proprietor of twenty ships, none of less burthen than five hundred tons at present the merchants are seen ruined by the violences of an unpolitic government, and we now only hear of the trade of this city

Some years ago the province of Oude, laying to the northwest of Bengal, became quite impoverished by the excess of the customs and the severity of the collectors the trade went round the province, instead of going through it When Munsurally Cawn, the present Vizir of the empire, obtained that Nabobship, he instantly rectified the errors of his prede-

* See The Military Transactions in Indostan, vol 1 page 162

cessors.

⁴ reform. He lowered the customs exceedingly and subjected the collection of them to better regulations. This province, being the shortest thoroughfare, immediately recovered its lost trade, and flourished under his administration beyond what it ever was known to do.

Bengal, by its situation and productions has the most extensive commerce of any province of the empire. Delhi is from hence supplied with all its linens and silks the foreign marts of India, Arabia and Persia with silk, raw and manufactured with cloths, with sugars, opium grain, &c. The European nations make their largest and most valuable investments here. The Nabob Allaverdy Khan obtained the government by his sword and by that has ever since maintained it. The pay of a very numerous standing army has obliged him to be more rapacious than any of his predecessors were the merchants therefore are obliged to buy their trade at dearer exactions than they were ever known to suffer but this prince has not yet exceeded so much, as to leave the commerce of his province destitute of a profit sufficient to excite adventurers.

The European nations are possessed of considerable settlements and much property within his territory by quitting of which their companies would be ruined this Allaverdy Khan knows full well he therefore hesitates not to make exorbitant demands from them and if matters are not soon compromised

compromised, he issues forth orders to stop every branch of their investments, which are dispersed throughout the country at great distances from their principal factories

It is not to be expected that navigation should have made great progress amongst so enervated a people as those of Indostan. They are unskillful practitioners, and worse theorists. It is common to find a Moor ship wasting three years on a voyage which might easily be performed in one. hence the Europeans are the general carriers of the east

With this advantage, with the advantage of particular situations, the colonies abroad are enabled to create many private fortunes, without interfering with the interests of the companies on which they depend

CAP. IV

Of the War

THE rudeness of the military art in Indostan can scarce be imagined, but by those who have seen it. The infantry consists in a multitude of people assembled together without regard to rank and file. some with swords and targets, who can never stand the shock of a body of horse. some bearing match-locks, which in the best of order can produce but a very uncertain fire. some armed with lances too long or too weak to be of any service, even if ranged with the utmost regularity of discipline.

Little reliance is therefore placed in this force. To keep night watches, and to plunder defenceless people, is their greatest service, except it consists in their being a perquisite to their commanders, who receive a fixed price for every man, and hire every man at a different and less price.

As the Moors are the lords of the country they are of consequence the warriors of it. These derive from their originals, the Tartars the affection which that people are famous for bearing towards their horses and the love of ease, in an inclement climate, has fixed this preference. The strain of all the war rests upon the numbers and goodness of horses which are found in an army.

Every man brings his own horse, and offers himself to be enlisted. The horse, and not the man, is carefully examined and according to the size and value of the beast, the master receives his pay. A good horse will bring thirty or forty rupees a month. Sometimes an officer contracts for a whole troop which he has enlisted.

A horse in Indostan is of four times greater value than in Europe. If the horse is killed the man is ruined. Strange that such a regulation should be established, as makes it the interest of the soldier to fight as little as possible.

The privileges of free booty and plunder together with sudden and sanguinary executions, in some measure check this consequence. The officer who commands a troop which

bility and fear must be predominant in such as are infinitely susceptible of the minutest impressions.

Persons of high rank and distinction are seldom wanting in an intrepidity as little sensible to the apprehensions of danger as the pusillanimity of the lower and meaner people is incapable of resisting such impulses.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

Composed at Calcutta in September 1752

Corrected on board the ship Pelham, September 1755.

BOOK II.

CAP. I.

Of the Moors of Indostan

THE Descendants of those *Moors* or *Tartars*, who under the command of Tamerlane conquered Indostan, are now become exceedingly numerous, and, if collected together, would form a very populous nation

But being dispersed throughout the vast extent of this empire, their numbers appear so very small, when compared to that of the Gentoos, who are all the original people of the country, that nothing but an effeminacy and resignation of spirit, not to be paralleled in the world, could make it conceivable how these can remain subjected to masters whom they outnumber ten to one

The number of Moors in the northern countries, and about Delhi the capital, is found vastly to exceed that of the southern and more distant provinces

In the principal cities of the provinces, they are likewise in great numbers, as forming the greatest part of the soldiery, or depending upon the officers and offices of the government. Out of these cities it is difficult to find a trade or manufacture carried on by a Moor.

The

The Moors in Indostan may be divided into two kinds of people differing in every respect excepting in the profession of the same religion. Under the first are reckoned the descendants of the conquerors Tartars continually naturalizing themselves in Indostan, through the encouragement which their martial spirit is sure to receive. Arabians and Persians who have quitted their own to seek their fortunes in this country. The second rank of Moors comprehends all the descendants of converted Gentoos—a miserable race, as none but the most miserable of the Gentoos castes are capable of changing their religion.

CAP. II

Of the Manners of the Moors

THE Tartars are known amongst themselves to be of honest and simple manners and if at times fierce and cruel, they cease to be so when they cease to be enemies of war.

The conquest of Indostan was made by them with little difficulty and has since been maintained with less a distinction of religions (that of Mahomed and that of the Gentoos) has ensued, whilst the conqueror may without controul vaunt his own and insult that of the subject the subject, by being more numerous has only become more despicable, from this proof of not daring to exert his strength. Almost the whole wealth of this vast territory is divided amongst the Moors,

Moors the effect of their tenaciousness in keeping all offices of the government amongst themselves. The principle of the government has nevertheless reduced all these mighty lords to be as much the slaves to some powers, as others are slaves to theirs. A licentiousness and luxury peculiar to this enervating climate, have spread their corruption, and instead of meeting with obstacles from laws or opinions, is cherished as the supreme good to the utmost excesses.

All these will surely be deemed causes sufficient to have changed, in the present Moors of Indostan, the spirit which their ancestors brought with them into it—and from hence many and dreadful vices are now naturalized amongst them.

A dominating insolence towards all who are in subjection to them, ungovernable wilfulness, inhumanity, cruelty, murders and assassinations, deliberated with the same calmness and subtlety as the rest of their politics, an insensibility to remorse for these crimes, which are scarcely considered otherwise than as necessary accidents in the course of life, sensual excesses which revolt against nature, unbounded thirst of power, and an expaciousness of wealth equal to the extravagance of his propensities and vices—this is the character of an Indian Moor, who is of consequence sufficient to have any character at all.

It would be injustice to human nature, were we not to think all general descriptions of it liable to exceptions.

Inhumanity

Inhumanity and cruelty is not always the propensity of a Moor as such but as of a man determined to remove all obstacles to his ambition this effected it is common to see the prince of a disposition less sanguinary than that of the best of his courtiers. Such is Allaverdy Khan the present Nabob of Bengal and what is more singular in a person of his station and religion, this prince has always persisted to live the husband of one wife.

It remains to speak of the military resolution of the Moors. Where all is maintained by the sword it is natural that the profession of a soldier should be the nearest road not only to honours but to power. Every one urges on to be as high in the rank of slaves as he can and some have even affected entire* independance. A governor of a province will scarce be able to maintain it, if he is not a very brave man and at every instant ready to enter the field nay such a dignity is rarely conferred but upon such as have given proofs of their abilities to command an army in person. Where courage is become so indispensable a qualification in all who attempt to better their fortunes in the state, it is no wonder that we see all of the highest rank of Moors possessed of it in no contemptible degree.

* Nizamalnadeek, the Nabob of the Southern provinces Allaverdy Khan, the Nabob of Bengal.

C A P. III

Of the Politeness and Ceremonies of the Moors

THE climate and habits of Indo stan have enervated the strong fibres with which the Tartars conquered it, and the rude sense of that people is now refined in their descendants, in a great measure, to the sensibility of the Indians.

I must apologize for reminding the reader so often, of the gradation of slavery which subsists throughout Indo stan, without carrying this idea continually with us, it is impossible to form any idea of these people.

That tribute of obedience which a man pays to his superior, he naturally exacts from his inferior, and where every man is obliged to pay, and expects to receive, this obedience, it is natural that a check should be put to all outward indecorum. If to this we join the idea of a people in whom subtlety has been substituted to impetuous manners, we shall not wonder to see them become vastly polite. It is destroying the nature of things, for any more than one or two persons in any assembly, to be off their guard in the point of ceremonial or behaviour.

"We find, therefore, amongst the Moors, the ceremonies of outward manners carried to a more refined pitch than in any other part of the world, excepting China. These manners are become a fundamental of their education, as without

them a man would instead of making his fortune, be liable to lose his head.

An uncivil thing is never said amongst equals the most extravagant adulation, both of gesture and words, is lavished upon the superior. The grandee is seated in his * Durbar where all who approach to pay their respects are ranged according to their respective degrees of station or favour. All is attention to his countenance if he asks a question it is answered with the turn that will please him if he asserts all applaud the truth does he contradict, all tremble a multitude of domesficks appear in waiting as silent and immovable as statues. This is the ceremonial of paying court, I speak not of the Darbar as the tribunal of justice there injuries must cry aloud, or will not be heard.

By the experience which they have had of Europeans, they deny us all pretensions to politeness. Our familiarities appear shocking to their notions of awe and respect our vivacities quite ridiculous to their notions of solemnity I shall be pardoned for giving an instance of this.

The gentlemen of one of the European factories in Bengal, were invited to see the ceremony of a sacred day at, the Nabob's palace, where all the great men of the city were to

* Durbar is the name of the place in which the prince makes his public appearance to receive homage, and likewise of that in which justice is administered by himself or his officers.

be assembled. The Europeans were placed near the Nabob's person. The scene was in a large area of the palace, in the middle of which, directly opposite to the Nabob, a fountain was playing. The Moors who entered, approached no nearer than just before the fountain, there made obeisance, and then retired to their seats. A man of some distinction added a step or two too much to his retreating bow, and fell backwards into the cistern of the fountain. I question whether half the foreign ambassadors of any court in Europe, could have suppressed their mirth on such an occasion. Our foreign visitors burst into repeated peals of laughter, and flung themselves into all the attitudes which usually accompany the excess of it. Not a muscle was changed in the countenance of any other person in the assembly. The unlucky man went out with great composure, to change his raiment, and all the attention of the company was diverted from him upon the boisterous mirth of the strangers, which became real matter of astonishment to these nice observers of decorum.

The deputies of an European settlement on the coast of Coromandel, arrived at the camp of Nazirjung, late Subah of the southern provinces, who had at that time occasion for the services of their presidency. In stipulating the ceremonies of their audience, they insisted that they could not sit cross-legged upon the ground, without being cramped. It was answered, that they could not be admitted to sit upon chairs (according to the European custom) in the presence of a prince of Nazirjung's dignity; - as, according to their customs,

no, inferior could be placed on a seat raised higher than that on which his superior was seated. The deputies then desired, that a hole might be dug in the ground of the tent in which they might put their legs without injuring the dignity of that prince. This was granted to the no small astonishment of all present, that those gentlemen should chuse, on such an occasion, to appear in a situation, which amongst the Moors is a punishment for undiscourteous committed by the lower class of people. It had just the same effect upon them, as, upon us would have, the request of a stranger who at such an introduction should desire instead of a chair to be set in a pair of stocks.

The Moors are much attached to such Europeans as comply easily with the solemnity and ceremonies of their manners and nothing revolts them sooner than a contempt of their customs.

Persons of distinction have been known through a sense of shame, to make away with themselves, after having committed an involuntary indecorum in the presence of their superiors. Need I say any thing more of their notions of behaviour and decorum?

C A P I V

Of their Disfratulation.

The politeness of other nations may have its rise from a natural ease and happiness of temper a point of honour, the idea a man conveys of himself, by the respect he shows to others.

others, but the decorum with which the common ceremonies and occurrences of life are conducted in Indostan, is derived from the constant idea of subordination, joined to a constant habit of the deepest disguise and dissimulation of the heart.

In Indostan, every man may literally be said to be the maker of his own fortune. Great talents, unawed by scruples of conscience, seldom fail of success; from hence all persons of distinction are seen running in the same course. The perseverance necessary to attain his end, teaches every man to bear and forbear contrary to the common instincts of human nature and hence arises then politeness.

Let us carry these reflections a little farther. The general competition has put an end to mutual confidence. A sensibility capable of discerning every thing, is soon taught a disguise capable of concealing every thing. Where morality has no check upon ambition, it must form the blackest resolutions, and the dissimulation necessary to carry these into execution, will, amongst a people circumstanced as I have described them, be carried to excesses, which different manners and better morals will scarcely imagine human nature to be capable of.

An expression of indignation has cost a considerable officer his life, three months after he had betrayed himself to the apprehensions of his general, who never afterwards thought himself secure from the resentments of a man whose violence

Icîce was capable of transporting him to a public manifestation of disgust: in the interim nothing but the utmost complaisance and respect has subsisted between them. Just as the rash man has thought his peace was made, he has found his destruction determined.

I cannot ask credit for the multiplicity of facts of this nature, which I could relate: How many princes have been stabbed in full Durbar? How many have been poisoned in their beds? Chiefs of armies circumvented and cut off at conferences in the field? Favourite courtiers strangled without previous notice of their crime, or whilst they thought themselves on the eve of destroying their masters? A century of the politics of Indostan would afford more examples of this nature, than can be found in the whole history of Europe since the reign of Charlemagne.

How grateful, how noble are the reflections inspired by such a retrospect, in favour of the cause of Christianity and in favour of the cause of Liberty!

CAP V

Of the Gentoos in general

A people believing in metamplychosis, who are forbid by their religion to destroy the smallest insect; a people continually assembling to celebrate the festivals of their gods, who believe that acts of charity to the poor can atone for all their sins,

+

fins,

fins, who are fond to excess of the enjoyment of a domestic life, and extremely solicitous in the cares of it—such a people must acquire humane and gentle manners.

The Gentoos are very affectionate parents, and treat their domestics with great mildness. They are charitable, even to relieving the necessities of strangers, and the politeness of their behaviour is refined by the natural effeminacy of their disposition, to exceed even that of the Moors.

The sway of a despotic government has taught them the necessity of patience, and the coolness of their imagination enables them to practise it better than any people in the world. They conceive a contemptible opinion of a man's capacity, who betrays any impetuosity in his temper.

Slavery has sharpened the natural fincs of all the spirits of Asia, from the difficulty of obtaining, and the greater difficulty of preserving it, the Gentoos are indefatigable in business, and masters of the most exquisite dissimulation in all affairs of interest. They are the acutest buyers and sellers in the world, and preserve through all their bargains a degree of calmness, which baffles all the arts that can be opposed against it.

The children are capable of assisting them in their business at an age when ours scarce begin to learn. It is common to see a boy of eleven years enter into an assembly of considerable men, make his obeisance, deliver his message, and then retire with all the propriety and grace of a very well-bred man.

It

It has before been said that the Gentoos in general are a very tumorous people. In the northern parts of the empire they are of stronger bodies, ruder manners, and have scarce a religion when it is compared to the multitude of ceremonies and observances which the southern Gentoos adhere so strictly to here they are better soldiers, and sometimes take the field against the Moors, but rarely with success

CAP VI

Of the Brachmane.

EVERY son of a Brachman inherits the priesthood of his father from hence their numbers are more than requisite to attend the service of their gods and many of them are seen versant in the common occupations of life, with no other disfunction than that of particular reverence paid to their persons by all who accost them being every where considered as the highest cast of Gentoos.

The influence of priestcraft over superstition is no where so visible as in India All the commences of life have a strict analogy with the ceremonies of religion and the Brachman has inculcated such a variety of strange persuasions, that the Gentoos finds himself every hour under the necessity of consulting his spiritual guide. The building of a pagoda, and maintaining within it a set of priests, is believed the best action which human virtue is capable of Every offence

is capable of being expiated by largesses to the Brachmans, prescribed by themselves according to their own measures of avarice and sensuality.

Nevertheless it may be asserted, that if ever superstition produced an universal good, it is in Indostan, where we see it the foundation of an universal benevolence.

The supreme good of the Brachmans seems to center in the idea of plenty enjoyed in peace. They quit not the silence of their groves to join the tumults of the state, nor point the brand flaming from the altar against the battlements of the citadel. Their ideas of power are confined to their own little community. Here they live in a state of subordination which knows no resistance, and slumber in a voluptuousness which knows no interruption.

But if the precepts and exhortations by which they obtain this affluent subsistence, recommended no other object but their own important persons to the consideration of charity, they would have all the world, excepting their bigots, for enemies, and these too might become undeceived, by the flagrancy of such interested commands.

Aware of this, the Brachmans have made their gods require, besides the necessity of endowing their temples, the practice of all other kinds of charities, by which the necessities of human nature may be relieved. A third part of the wealth of every Gentoo is expended upon such occasions. We see nowhere so numerous and such vast fabrics built for the service of religion. Refectories built on the high road for the relief

and lodging of passengers spacious ponds dug for the ease of the labourer and the convenience of the inhabitants daily distribution of victuals given to the poor —such effects concur to give us an idea of the charity of the Gentoos not exceeded by that of the practice of Christians

The Brachmans themselves profess great hospitality and by this address preserve that extreme veneration which other wise would be lost through the effects of envy in a detestation of their impositions

Far be from me the malignity of attributing to the weakness of human nature, the effects which might justly be given to its virtues were not the Gentoos infamous for the want of generosity and gratitude in all the commerces of friendship were they not a tricking deceitful people, in all their dealings their charity could not be deemed to arise from the influence of superstition.

A very strange custom prevails in some parts of India a Brachman devotes himself to death, by eating until he expires with the surfeit It is no wonder that superstition is convinced of the necessity of cramming the priest when he professes to eat like a cormorant through a principle of religion.

CAP VII

Of the Gento Principalties

It is a remark warranted by constant observation that wherever the government is administered by Gentoos, the people

people are subject to more and severer oppressions than when ruled by the Moors.

I have imputed this to intelligent Gentoos, who have confessed the justice of the accusation, and have not scrupled to give their opinions concerning it.

A Gento, say they, is not only born with a spirit of more subtle invention, but by his temperance and education becomes more capable of attention to affairs, than a Moor, who no sooner obtains power, than he is lost in voluptuousness, he becomes vain and lordly, and cannot dispense with satiating the impulses of his sensual appetites whereas a Gento prince retains in his Durbar the same spirit which would actuate him if keeping a shop. Avarice is his predominant passion, and all the wiles, address, cunning, and perseverance, of which he is so exquisite a master, are exerted to the utmost in fulfilling the dictates of this vice, and his religion, instead of inspiring, frees him from, the remorse of his crimes, for whilst he is harassing and plundering his people by the most cruel oppressions, he is making peace with his gods by denying nothing to their priests.

The present king of Travencore has conquered or carried war into all the countries which lay round his dominions, and lives in the continual exercise of his arms To atone for the blood which he has spilt, the Brachmans persuaded him that it was necessary he should be born anew this ceremony consisted in putting the prince into the body of a

golden cow of immense value, where, after he had laid the time prescribed, he came out regenerated and freed from all the crimes of his former life. The cow was afterwards cut up and divided amongst the ~~sixes~~ who had invented this extraordinary method for the remission of his sins.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

Composed at Calcutta in September 1752

*Corrected, retrenched in some, enlarged in other places, on board
the Pelham, in September 1753*

B O O K III
OF THE LAWS AND JUSTICE OF INDOSTAN.

CAP. I.

Of the Laws of Indostan

A government depending upon no other principle than the will of one, cannot be supposed to admit any absolute laws into its constitution, for these would often interfere with that will

There are no digests or codes of laws existing in Indostan. the Tartars who conquered this country could scarcely read or write, and when they found it impossible to convert them to Mahomedanism, left the Gentoos at liberty to follow their own religion

To both these people (the lords and slaves of this empire) custom and religion have given all the regulations which are at this time observed in Indostan. The sanction of such impositions continue the policies of this empire, such as they are, with a constancy not exceeded in legislatures founded upon the best of principles

A detail of these customs and policies is not to be expected. A whole life spent in such enquiries, would at the end remain ignorant of the hundredth part of them every province has fifty sects of Gentoos, and every sect adheres to different observances. My intent is only to give a general

idea

idea of the sources of civil and criminal cases, and of the methods of process by which they are adjudged

C A P II

Of Civil Cases

IT IS A MAXIM that civil institutions will always be found infinitely more circumscribed and much less complicated in despotic states, than in those of liberty. If these in Indostan are found less frequent than in freer governments, they certainly are more than could be expected in one so absolute and this I shall endeavour to account for.

No property in lands admits of disputes concerning them. The slavery to which the rights of parent and husband subjects the female (who neither amongst the Moors or Gentoos is suffered to appear before any of the other sex except her nearest relations) abolishes at once all suits of doweries, divorce, jointures, and settlements but if these two of the fundamental causes of dispute are removed the other two remain commerce and inheritances are permitted; and naturally produce contentions.

C A P III

Inheritances and Commerce permitted and from hence Civil Cases arise in Indostan

ALTHOUGH the notion of absolute power admits of nothing which can be snatched from its grasp, whence the king as

in other despotic states, may, if he pleases, become heir to any man in his kingdom, yet custom has not established this right to him in Indostan, and these perhaps are the reasons why neither the Moors or Gentoos have been subjected to it

1 All the political institutions of the Gentoos are so blended with the idea of religion, that this is generally effected where these are concerned. The softness of manners which these people receive from the climate, has fixed all their attention to the solaces of a domesick life. There are not more tender parents, or better masters, in the world such a people will make wills in favour of their offspring and the prince finds himself restrained by policy from establishing a right so utterly shocking to the nature and disposition of the subject. He is likewise restrained by religion. the name of God invoked in the testament of a Gentoo, gives it as sacred an authority as with those who have better notions of a Deity, and the Brachman is too much interested, as father of a family, to sanctify a practice which would affect his own property. Thus the Gentoo princes were never seen to affect this right, excepting when avarice had got so far the ascendant, as not only to confound all their notions of policy, but even to make them look on religion as the prejudice of education

2 The Moors, in the first outrages of conquest, doubtless possessed themselves of all kinds of property but when the

Gentoos

Gentoos would not be converted and were left to the observance of their own rites, the right of testaments was continued and still subsists amongst them The Gentoos, by their subtlety and application find many means of gaining wealth under the Moors and this wealth they devolve by will to their male children The obstacles which these may meet with in taking possession will be explained hereafter

3 The idea of being fellow-conquerors the complacency arising from perpetual victories the immense wealth which these conquests afforded might have been the causes which prevented the first Mahomedan princes of Indostan from establishing amongst those of their own religion this utmost effort of absolute power They were contented with knowing that they had at all times the power to seize without declaring that they intended to inherit every man's property

4 When the kingdom came to be divided into distinct provinces when many of these provinces rendered their Nabobs almost independent of the throne it would have been the height of impolicy to have attempted such an institution it would have been impossible to have effected it.

5 Had the throne attempted such violence upon such subjects as were more immediately within its reach, the next province, or if not that, one beyond it would have afforded an asylum where a part of the persecuted wealth bestowed with address, could not fail to procure safety and protection

to the remainder, especially if the heirs, as they doubtless would, took sanctuary with princes, who either were dissatisfied with, or disregarded, the authority of the court hence confusions and revolts may be strengthened, if not produced.

6 If a Nabob thought his power sufficiently established to perpetuate, and should attempt the violence of such acquisitions, the subject would remove to the government of the neighbouring prince, whom he would probably find in a state of war with him from whose outrages he had fled

If the right of inheritance in the sovereign were as chimerical a notion as it appears inconsistent with the existence of a powerful nation, I should not have insisted upon these conjectures, but this right is certainly established in the dominions of the Turk and the emperor of Japan is not only the absolute lord of the property of his subjects, but is likewise so, in the utmost signification of the term, over their persons, which he massacres and tortures at his pleasure, at some times exterminating a whole city for the offence of a single man

The different methods of inheritance amongst the Gentoos, are settled by their religion, according to the different castes by which they are distinguished In general, the females are recommended to the care of the brothers, and these are commonly ordered to divide equally sometimes first cousins, especially if born under the same roof, share equally with the brothers sometimes the first wife of the deceased is intrusted

with the management of the whole estate during life—a custom attended with no consequences prejudicial to the children as she cannot enter into a second marriage. It is always recommended by the parent, that the house, if in a way of trade be not divided and as surely it happens, that divisions ensue amongst the heirs :

If the rights of inheritance are seen to be a source from whence a multiplicity of litigations may arise in Indostan the free exercise of commerce will be found to produce still more frequent occasions of dispute.

The varied and extensive commerce which exists in Indostan both by sea and land is more than can be imagined by those who are unacquainted with the multiplicity and value of the productions of this wealthy empire the high roads are full of caravans the navigable rivers of boats the sea-coasts of barques and ships with the richest cargoes make voyages from one part of the kingdom to another

CAP IV

Spirit of the Moors and of the Gentoo, in Litigious Contentions

It may not be thought unnecessary to view the dispositions of the people of Indostan in litigious contentions.

The Moors hold the office of a scribe in contempt commerce therefore cannot be held by them in honour The Moors who engage in it have nothing but the name of the merchant the business is transacted by some subtle Gentoo who when he wants his master to confirm a bargain is sure
+ to

to find him in the women's apartment, or falling asleep over his Kaloon*. Nothing is so indolent as a Moor out of the track of ambition. he will readily compromise a cause, if he entertains the least doubt of gaining it, and if there is a necessity of prosecuting it, he sends a Gentoo to the Durbar, as his representative solicitor.

That pusillanimity and sensibility of spirit, which renders the Gentoos incapable of supporting the contentions of danger, disposes them as much to prosecute litigious contests. No people are of more inveterate and steady resentments in civil disputes. The only instance in which they seem to have a contempt for money, is their profusion of it in procuring the redress and revenge of injuries at the bar of justice. Although they can, with great resignation, see themselves plundered to the utmost by their superiors, they become mad with impatience when they think themselves defrauded of any part of their property by their equals. Nothing can be more adapted to the feminine spirit of a Gentoo, than the animosities of a law-suit.

C A P V

Of the Administration of Justice in Civil Cases

THE superiority of their numbers in every province of Indostan, may have first given rise to the custom of devolving the office of Duan upon a Gentoo, and the sense

* An instrument out of which they smoke tobacco

of their superior industry and abilities may have confirmed this custom which nevertheless is not so absolute as to exclude the Moor entirely - if any favourite of the Nabob hath application and capacity equal to the task, his being a Moor will certainly give him that preference, which a kind of necessity alone seems to have established amongst the Gentoos.

The Duan is, by his office, the chief judge of the province from whose tribunal no appeal is made as by suffering him to preside in the seat of judgment it is known that the Nabob will confirm his decrees.

A Nabob, who through humanity is led to inquire into the condition of his subjects, may sometimes be seen to preside at the Durbar in person during which time the Duan has no authority but what the countenance of his master gives him.

No man is refused access to the Durbar or seat of judgment which is exposed to a large area, capable of containing the multitude here justice, or the appearance of it, is administered upon all but festival days, by the Duan if the Nabob is absent or by a deputy in the absence of the Duan.

The plaintiff discovers himself by crying aloud, *Jhilice!* *Justice!* until attention is given to his importunate clamours. He is then ordered to be silent, and to advance before his judge to whom after having prostrated himself and made

his offering of a piece of money, he tells his story in the plainest manner, with great humility of voice and gesture, and without any of those oratorical embellishments which compose an art in freer nations

The wealth, the consequence, the interest, or the address of the party, become now the only considerations. He visits his judge in private, and gives the jar of oil his adversary bestows the hog, which breaks it. The friends who can influence, intercede, and, excepting where the case is so manifestly proved as to brand the failure of redress with glaring infamy (a restraint which human nature is born to reverence) the value of the bribe ascertains the justice of the cause

This is so avowed a practice, that if a stranger should enquire, how much it would cost him to recover a just debt from a creditor who evaded payment, he would every where receive the same answer—the government will keep one-fourth, and give you the rest

Still the forms of justice subsist. witnesses are heard, but brow-beaten and removed proofs of writing produced, but deemed forgeries and rejected, until the way is cleared for a decision, which becomes totally or partially favourable, in proportion to the methods which have been used to render it such, but still with some attention to the consequences of a judgment, which would be of too flagrant iniquity not to produce universal detestation and resentment

The quickness of decisions which prevails in Indostan, as well

well as in all other despotic governments, ought no longer to be admired. As soon as the judge is ready every thing that is necessary is ready there are no tedious briefs of cases, no various interpretations of an infinity of laws, no methodized forms and no harangues to keep the parties longer in suspense.

Providence has, at particular seasons, blessed the miseries of these people with the presence of a righteous judge. The vast reverence and reputation which such have acquired, are but too melancholy a proof of the infrequency of such a character. The history of their judgments and decisions is transmitted down to posterity and is quoted with a visible complacency on every occasion. Stories of this nature supply the place of proverbs in the conversations of all the people of Indostan and are applied by them with great propriety.

C A P VI

Of Arbitrations

The abuses of public justice naturally produced the preference of private arbitrations these would soon have removed all causes from the tribunal of the sovereign all arbitrations are therefore prohibited, excepting under the inspections and restrictions of the Durbar which confirms such umpire as are desired or elects such as are dreaded conformable to the complacency or displeasure which have been inspired by the address of the parties.

Many

Many of the causes which arise from the intricacies in commercial accounts, are referred to arbitration, as the attention necessary to scrutinize them would employ too much time at the Durbar. These are sometimes decided with sufficient candour, as the umpire capable of such a task are not always the immediate instruments of the government.

C A P . VII.

In Objection answered

IT may be objected, that the strict attention given to the forms of justice in Indostan, appears inconsistent with the nature of a government acknowledged to be despotic.

These forms would, without doubt, be despised, were not the inhabitants of the province less subjected to the will of their Nabob, than the vicegerent himself is dependant upon the will of his sovereign.

A government depending upon the will of one, exists no longer if another absolute will exists in any part of it; that part immediately becomes a separate kingdom. This is openly the case in the revolts of Indostan whilst they last, and sometimes is secretly so in the dominions of such vicegerents, who, relying on their power, distance, or address, think that they have little to fear from the throne, but at the same time do not openly give defiance to it.

The Nabob is commissioned to represent his prince as a steward, who is bound to take all measures for the preservation and increase of his master's estate. It would be absurd

absurd to imagine that the emperor should delegate to any subject the power of plundering and murdering at pleasure this monstrous privilege is acknowledged in none but himself and others must use oblique means to attain it. The last resource from injustice lies at the throne, which has been often seen to recall a Nabob when the cries of a province have been loud enough to penetrate its recesses.

It is well known that the emperor is commonly the most ignorant man in his dominions, of the transactions of his government. The lordly minister who thus excludes all ~~as~~ ~~from~~ ~~his~~ masters inspection, subjects them as much to his own. The cabals, the caprice the revolutions of a court, are every hour to be dreaded by every vicegerent if not of overgrown authority and he is never without enemies and rivals ready to exaggerate all pretexts for supplanting him.

From the impression of these restraints, such as they are the forms of justice are revered in all the governments of Indostan as much as the reality of it is abused.

C A P . V I I I

Monstrous Abuse of the Forms of Justice

From the impression of such restraints, we likewise see no act of violence committed but under the mask of justice.

As soon as a man becomes conspicuous for his possessions, and begins to despise keeping measures with the Durbar by neglecting to supply the voluntary contributions which are expected

expected from him, instead of giving him poison, which would not answer the end proposed, as his treasures are buried, he is beset with spies, commonly of his own domestics, who report even to the minutest of his actions offers from discontented parties are made to him, a commerce with the enemies of the province is proposed, if he avoids these snares, a profitable post in the government is tendered to him, which if he accepts, his ruin is at hand, as the slightest of the villanies practised in every branch of it, becomes foundation sufficient to render him a public criminal should he have escaped this too, it remains that some more glaring and desperate measure of iniquitous justice hurry him to destruction. Let the following example suggest and supply the many which might be produced

A very wealthy house of Gentoo bankers were admonished at Muxadavad of the Nabob's necessities for money and better versed in the arts of amassing, than in the methods necessary to preserve their riches, they presented a sum much more agreeable to their own avarice, than to the expectations of their persecutors None of the usual snares were likely to succeed with people of their excessive caution One of the dead bodies, which are continually floating upon the river Ganges, happened to be thrown ashore under the wall of their dwelling-house, which was immediately surrounded by the officers of the civil magistrate, and nothing heard but execrations against these devoted criminals, who were proclaimed the murderers of a son of Mahomed. The chief of

The offices in the civil magistrate are comprised in an institution which is too peculiar to Indostan to be expressed by any word in our language

In every city and in every considerable town is appointed a guard directed by proper officers, whose duty it is to coerce and punish all such crimes and misdemeanors as affect the policy of that district, and are at the same time of too infamous or of too insignificant a nature to be admitted before the more solemn tribunal of the Durbar. These ministers of justice are called the Catwall and a building bearing the same name is allotted for their constant resort.

At this place are perpetually heard the clamours of the populace some demanding redress for the injury of a blow or a bad name others for a fraud in the commerce of farthings one wants assistance to take, another has taken a thief some offering themselves for houndsmen others called upon for witnesses The cries of wretches under the scourge, and the groans of expiring criminals, complete a scene of perfect misery and confusion

After these employments of the day parties are sent from the Catwall to patrol and watch through the town by night.

The intelligence which the Catwall constantly receives, of every transaction which passes within the limits of its jurisdiction renders it very capable of assishing the superior powers of the government in their system of oppressions.

Gentoos who have commerce with public women Moors
M who

who are addicted to drinking spirituous liquors, all persons who hazard money in gaming,—such are subject to be narrowly watched by the Catwall, and, when detected, find that nothing but money can exempt them from public disgrace

In such governments where the superiors are lost to all sense of humanity, the most execrable of villanies are perpetrated by this institution, designed to prevent them

The Catwall enters into treaty with a band of robbers, who receive from hence the intelligence necessary to direct their exploits, and in return pay to it a stipulated portion of their acquisitions besides the concessions necessary to secure impunity when detected, one part of the band is appointed to break into houses, another assaults the traveller upon the road, a third the merchant upon the river. I have seen these regulated villains commit murders in the face of day, with such desperate audacity as nothing but the confidence of protection could inspire

In jurisdictions of narrow limits and little importance, it is customary to blend the Durbar and Catwall in one tribunal. In these all causes wherein money and property are in contention, those wherein the terror of his presence is necessary to support the intended extortions,—such are brought before the governor of the district, who leaves to inferior ministers the execution of what are properly the duties of the Catwall.

CAP. XI

Some Reflections

HAVING brought to a conclusion thus essay on the government and people of Indostan I cannot refrain from making the reflections which so obviously arise from the subject

Christianity vindicates all its glories, all its honour and all its reverence, when we behold the most horrid impieties avowed amongst the nations on whom its influence does not shine, as actions necessary in the common conduct of life I mean poisonings, treachery and assassinations, in the sons of ambition rapines, cruelty, and extortions, in the ministers of justice.

I leave divines to vindicate, by more sanctified reflections, the cause of their Religion and their God

The sons of Liberty may here behold the mighty ills to which the slaves of a despotic power must be subject, the spirit darkened and depressed by ignorance and fear, the body tortured and tormented by punishments inflicted without justice and without measure such a contrast to the blessings of liberty heightens at once the sense of our happiness, and our zeal for the preservation of it.

'Tis now END OF THE THIRD BOOK

Composed on board the Ship Pelham September 25th 1753

E F F E M I N A C Y

OF THE

I N H A B I T A N T S

OF

I N D O S T A N.

EFFEMINACY, &c.

EUROPEANS understand by the East Indies, all the countries and empires, which laying to the south of Tartary, extend from the eastern frontiers of Persia to the eastern coasts of China. The islands of Japan are likewise included in this denomination, as are all the Malay islands, in which the Dutch have such valuable possessions, and which extend to the southward as far as the coasts of New Holland, and to the eastward to lands unknown.

The dominion of the Great Mogul, to which the name of India can only with propriety be applied, are designated in Asia as well as in Europe, by the kingdom of INDOSTAN, and although the Moguls are not masters of all the countries which are accepted under this denomination, yet there are very few tracts which have not formerly been, or which are not at present, subject or tributary to Mahomedans.

That part of the western side of Indostan, which is not bounded by the sea, is separated from Persia and the Usbeg Tartary by deserts, and by those mountains which were known to the ancients under the name of Paropamisus. The course of mount Caucasus forms its barrier to the north, and separates it from various nations of Tartars, from the Great and Little Thibet. Where mount Caucasus ceases, marshes

and rivers divide it from the kingdoms of Tepra, Assain, and Aracan and circumscribe to the eastward the dominions of the Mogul until they reach the sea at Chitigan. The sea from Chitigan to the cape of the peninsula of India and from this cape to the dominions of Persia forms the remaining boundary and embraces more than one half of the kingdom of Indostan there are few empires of which nature has more strongly marked the outline.

The most northern parts of this empire laying in the 35th degree of latitude and the most southern in the 8th the distance from the northern to the southern extremity is more than 1,620 geographical miles the greatest extent from east to west is about 1 500 miles

This great extent of country has from the earliest antiquity been inhabited by a people who have no resemblance, either in their figures or manners with any of the nations which are contiguous to them and although these nations have at different times sent conquerors amongst them, who have established themselves in different parts of the country although the Mogul Tartars under Tamerlane and his successors have at last rendered themselves lords of almost the whole of it, yet have the original inhabitants lost very little of their original character by these mixtures contrary to the effects of conquest in all the Christian and in most of the Mahomedan empires, in which Cyrus, Vercingetorix and Cæsar if risen from the dead, could not distinguish any traces

See Tavernier, also Mr D Anville's Map of India.

of

of the men who obeyed them in Persia, in Gaul, and in Italy, but this might Porus in India^b, on the very spot in which he submitted to Alexander.

^b Read the description given by Diodorus, of the Indian woman who burnt herself with the corpse of her husband, in the army of Lameches. She distributes her ornaments amongst her friends and relations, as a pledge of her regard to them, and as a mark of her desire to be remembered by them. These ornaments are a great number of rings set with precious stones of all colours, which she wore on her fingers, her head was adorned with stars of gold, and with the same kind of stones, her neck with ornaments or chains, which fell down to her breasts. One would think that the description of these ornaments, and of the alacrity and spirit with which this woman sacrifices herself, was wrote yesterday. It is not probable that any great changes can have been introduced amongst a people, who have preserved for two thousand years, a custom which so strongly revolts the first feelings of humanity.

Mr Therynot says, that the Indians were ignorant of the time when the stupendous works of the temple of Elora near Aurengabad were performed, at the same time that they were giving histories of the gods worshipped in those temples.

There are, in the temple of the Elephant near Bomby, vestiges of an antiquity, perhaps not later than the incursion of Alexander. Helmets, & sacrifice, of which the hints seem to be taken from strangers, for the Indians do not scruple to think foreign modes a proper ornament in their temples, and even for the figures of their divinities, although they will not adopt them to their own use.

Mr D'Anville — Besides that it has been remarked, that the Indians, having never quitted their own country, have never mixed themselves with other people, we do not find that they have suffered at home any revolutions which have overthrown the constitution and custom of the country. The Scythians have formerly penetrated into India, and established themselves there, from whence it comes to pass, that we find Indo Scythian in the ancient Indostan. Several Mahomedan princes, and amongst others, Mahmud son of Sebuk taken, very zealous for Musulm religion, have made conquests in India, and India has been governed for two centuries by a house whose origin is from Tartary, and whose religion is that of Mahomet. But these circumstances, which have unnaturalized, if we may be allowed the expression, other nations, have not had the same effect upon the Indians. They have preserved, besides several idioms which are proper to them, their religion and its ministers, Brachmans and Gymnosophists, their division into castes and tribes; distinguished every one by its profession, its rites and superstitions. In a word, all that is particular to themselves, and distinguishes them from other nations, since the earliest times. Depuis les temps les plus reculés

Besides the particular denominations which they receive from the castes and countries in which they are born there is one more general, which is applied indiscriminately to distinguish the original natives from all who have intruded themselves amongst them. Hindoo from whence Indian and throughout the millions of Indians which inhabit Indostan, although situated at such distances as would suffice to form them into several distinct nations, are visible the strongest marks of one general character in their dispositions, in their observances, and in their form.

The colour of the Indians is generally either that of copper or of the olive, but both with various shades. It is not absolutely the proximity of the inhabitant to the equator that determines his complexion in India other physical causes, from differences which arise as by starts in regions equally distant from the sun and it is in their complexion that less national generality is found than in any other of the properties of their figure some are almost black but these are either inhabitants of the woods, or people injured to labour and fatigues uncommon to the rest of their countrymen.

The hair of the Indians is without exception long, fine, and of a jet black. The nose, if not always aquiline is never buried in the face, nor with large distorted nostrils, as in the Coffees of Africa and in the Malay nations. Their lips, though in general larger than in Europeans, have nothing of that disagreeable protuberancy projecting beyond the nose,

which characterises the two people just mentioned. The eyebrows are full in the men, slender in the women, well-placed in both. The eyelid is of the finest form,—long, neither opening cicularly, as in many of the inhabitants of France, nor scarce opening at all, as in the Chinese. The iris is always black, but rarely with lustre, excepting in their children, and in some of their women nor is the white of the eye perfectly clear from a tinge of yellow, their countenance therefore receives little animation, but rather a certain air of languor, from this feature. From the nostrils to the middle of the upper lip they have an indenture, strongly marked by two ridges, seldom observable in the northern Europeans, but often in the Spaniard and Portuguese, and from the middle of the under lip there is another such indenture, which loses itself a little above the chin these lines, chiefly remarked in persons of their habits, give an air of sagacity to the men, and of delicacy to the physiognomy of the women. The outline of the face is various, oftener oval than of any other form, particularly in the women, and this variety of outline is another of the principal characters which distinguisheth the Indian from the Tatar as well as Malay, whose faces are universally of the same shape, that is, as broad as they are long.

The climate of India is divided into two seasons from the month of October to March, the wind continually blows from the northern, and in the other months from the southern points of the compass. These seasons, called by navigators monsoons,

soons, are suspended twice in the year for the space of twenty or thirty days whilst one of the reigning winds is losing and the other acquiring strength The southern winds, passing through regions inflamed by a perpendicular sun and accompanying its approach diminish nothing of its influence the season of their duration is therefore very hot indeed The northern winds after having scour'd the vast plains of Tartary receive additional keenness in their passage over the summits of mount Caucasus, covered with eternal snows they bring intense cold into the countries which lay at the foot of these mountains but do not carry more than a very moderate degree of it beyond the 50th degree of latitude for as during the whole time of their continuance the air is pure and unclouded the sun has always heat at noon and so much in the southern parts of India as to give Europeans very little if any sense of cold not more than that of the month of June in England

The texture of the human frame in India, seems to bear proportion with the rigidity of the northern monsoon as that does with the distance from Tartary but as in the southern monsoon heats are felt at the very foot of mount Caucasus, intense as in any part of India, very few of the inhabitants of Indostan are endowed with the nervous strength or athletic size, of the robustest nations of Europe.

On the contrary southward of Lahore we see throughout India a race of men whose make, physiognomy and muscular strength convey ideas of an effeminacy which surprises when

when pursued through such numbers of the species, and when compared to the form of the European who is making the observation. The sailor no sooner lands on the coast, than nature dictates to him the full result of this comparison, he brandishes his stick in sport, and puts fifty Indians to flight in a moment confirmed in his contempt of a pusillanimity and an incapacity of resistance, suggested to him by their physiognomy and form, it is well if he recollects that the poor Indian is still a man.

The muscular strength of the Indian is still less than might be expected from the appearance of the texture of his frame. Two English sawyers have performed in one day the work of thirty-two Indians allowances made for the difference of dexterity, and the advantage of European instruments, the disparity is still very great, and would have been more, had the Indian been obliged to have worked with the instrument of the European, as he would scarcely have been able to have wielded it.

As much as the labourer in Indostan is deficient in the capacity of exerting a great deal of strength at an onset, so is he endowed with a certain suppleness throughout all his frame, which enables him to work long in his own degree of labour, and which renders those contortions and postures, which would clamp the inhabitant of northern regions, no constraint to him. There are not more extraordinary tumblers in the world. Their messengers will go fifty miles a day,

day for twenty or thirty days without intermission. Their infantry march faster and with less weariness, than Europeans but could not march at all if they were to carry the same baggage and accoutrements.

Exceptions to this general defect of nervous strength are found in the inhabitants of the mountains which run in ranges of various directions throughout the continent of Indostan. In these even under the tropic, Europeans have met with a savage whose bow they could scarcely draw to the head of a formidable arrow tinged with the blood of tigers whose skins he offers to sale. Exceptions to the general placid countenance of the Indians, are found in the inhabitants of the woods, who living chiefly on their chace and perpetually alarmed by summons and attacks from the princes of the plains, for tributes withheld or ravages committed wear an air of dismay suspicion treachery and wildness, which renders them hideous and would render them terrible, if their physiognomy carried in it any thing of the fierceness of the mountaineer.

The stature of the Indian is various the northern inhabitant is as tall as the generality of our own nation more to the south their height diminishes remarkably and on the coast of Coromandel we meet with many whose stature would appear dwarfish if this idea was not taken off by the slumbers and regularity of their figure. Brought into the world with a facility unknown to the labours of European women never

never shackled in their infancy by ligatures, sleeping on their backs without pillows, they are in general very straight, and there are few deformed persons amongst them

Labour produces not the same effect on the human frame in Indostan as in other countries the common people of all sorts are a diminutive race, in comparison with those of higher castes and better fortunes, and yield still more to them in all the advantages of physiognomy Prohibited from marrying out of their respective tribes, every caste seems to preserve its respective proportion of health and beauty, in sanity and ugliness There is not a handsomer race in the universe, than the Banians of Guzerat, the Haramcores, whose business is to remove all kinds of filth, and the buyers and burners of dead bodies, are as remarkably ugly

Nature seems to have showered beauty on the fairer sex throughout Indostan, with a more lavish hand than in most other countries They are all, without exception, fit to be married before thirteen, and wrinkled before thirty—flowers of too short a duration not to be delicate, and too delicate to last long Segregated from the company of the other sex, and strangers to the ideas of attracting attention, they are only the handsomer for this ignorance, as we see in them, beauty in the noble simplicity of nature Hints have already been given of their physiognomy their skins are of a polish and softness beyond that of all their rivals on the globe a statuary would not succeed better in Greece itself, in his pursuit of the Grecian form, and although in the men he

would find nothing to furnish the ideas of the Farnesian Hercules, he would find in the women the finest hints of the Mediccan Venus.

If we consider the impossibility of a stranger being admitted into any one cast to which a Bramin will administer any of his sacerdotal functions, and the universal restriction of marriage to persons of the same cast we shall not be surprised to find that the Indian has preserved his physiognomy from a resemblance with any of his neighbours.

Montesquieu attributes much to the effect of climate and his critics impute to him, to have attributed much more to this effect than he really does. It is certain that there is no climate in which we may not find the same effects produced in the human species, as in climates entirely different in situation, and in every other circumstance. The Sybarites, whose territory was not more than a day's journey from the country of the Illyrians the Cincinnati and the Scipios, were more effeminate than the subjects of Sardanapalus and there are Sybarites at this day in the country of Vercingetorix. The Britons, although they possess at this day all the courage of their painted ancestors, who beat the greatest general of the world out of their country are doubtless incapable of bearing like them the fatigues and hardships of a campaign.

But it would be to contradict all our feelings, not to allow that it is much more difficult to bring the human race to particular habits in some countries than in others. To make a Sybarite of an inhabitant of the 50th degree of latitude,

infinite inventions must have been carried to the greatest degree of perfection apartments must be closed and fuelled so as to render the alterations of seasons little sensible to him. he must be carried in vehicles continued to be as warm as the apartments he leaves, and almost as easy as the chair in which he slumbers his food must be every thing that is not simple

To produce the same effect in such a climate and such a country as Indostan, nothing is necessary but to give the man his daily food The effect of the sun on the perspiration of the human body, together with the softness of the air, renders this secretion in India more powerful than the effect of labour in other countries The awkward constraint rising from rest in northern climates, is the call of nature to throw off something obvious to the habit, or to quicken the circulation into warmth Sensible of neither of these impulses, and satisfied with the present sense of ease, the inhabitant of Indostan has no conception of any thing salutary in the use of exercise, and receiving no agreeable sensation from it, esteems it, in those not obliged to it by necessity, ridiculous, or the effect of a discontented spirit

This general tendency to indolence being admitted, we shall find nature encouraging them in it

The savage, by his chace, and the perpetual war in which he lives with the elements, is enabled to devour almost raw the flesh of the animals he has killed In more civilized nations, the plowman from his labour is enabled to digest in its

coarsest preparations the wheat he has sown. Either of these foods would destroy the common inhabitant of Indostan as he exists at present his food is rice.

To provide this grain we see a man of no muscular strength carrying a plough on his shoulder to the field which the season or reservoirs of water have overflowed. This slender instrument of his agriculture, yoked to a pair of diminutive and feeble oxen is traced with scarce the impression of a furrow over the ground which is afterwards sown. The remaining labour consists in supplying the field with water which is generally effected by no greater a toil than undamming the canals, which derive from the great reservoir. If in some places this water is drawn from wells, in most parts of India it is supplied by rain as the rice in those parts, when the rainy season is of two or three months duration is always sown just before this season begins. When reaped the women separate the grain from the husk in wooden mortars, or it is trampled by oxen. Instead of hedges, the field is inclosed with a slender bank of earth.

A grain obtained with so little labour has the property of being the most easily digestible of any preparation used for food, and is therefore the only proper one for such an effeminate race as I have described. There is wheat in India it is produced only in the sharper regions, where rice will not so easily grow and where the cultivator acquires a firmer fibre than the inhabitant of the plain. It was probably introduced with the Alcoran, as all the Mahomedans of northern extraction

traction prefer it to rice, as much as an Indian rejects a nourishment which he cannot well digest even in its finest preparation.

Water is the only drink of every Indian respectable enough to be admitted into their assemblies of public worship, as all inebriating liquors are forbore through a principle of religion, not that the soil is wanting in productions proper to compose the most intoxicating, nor themselves in the art of preparing them for the outcasts of their own nation, or others of persuasions different from their own, who chuse to get drunk. They have not equally been able to refrain from the use of spices, and these the hottest, without which they never make a meal. Ginger is produced in their gardens as easily as radishes are in ours, and chilli, the highest of all vegetable productions used for food, insomuch that it will blister the skin, grows spontaneously these, with turmeric, are the principal ingredients of their cookery, and by their plenty are always within the reach of the poorest. A total abstinence from animal food is not so generally observed amongst them as is imagined, even the Bramins will eat fish, but as they never prepare either fish or flesh without mixing them with much greater quantities of spices than Europeans suffer in their ragouts, animal food never makes more than the slightest portion of their meal, and the preference of vegetables, of which they have various kinds in plenty, is decisively marked amongst them all. The cow is sacred every where, milk, from a supposed resemblance with the amritam or nectar of

their

their gods, is religiously esteemed the purest of foods, and receives the preference to vegetables in their nourishment.

If the rice harvests should fail which sometimes happens in some parts of India, there are many other resources to prevent the inhabitant from perishing there are grains of a coarser kind and larger volume than rice which require not the same continuation of heat, and at the same time the same supplies of water to be brought to perfection there are roots, such as the Indian potatoe, radish and others, of the turnip kind which without manure acquire a larger size than the same species of vegetable in Europe, when assisted with all the arts of agriculture, although much inferior to those of Peru of which Garcilassa della Vega gives so astonishing a description there are ground fruits of the pumpkin and melon kind, which come to maturity with the same facility and of which a single one is sufficient to furnish a meal for three persons, who receive sufficient nourishment from this slender diet, The fruit trees of other countries furnish delicacies to the inhabitant, and scarcely any thing more in India there are many which furnish at once a delicacy and no contemptible nourishment the palm and the coco trees give in their large nuts a gelatinous substance, on which men, when forced to the experience by necessity have subsisted for fifty days the jack tree produces a rich, glewy and nutritive fruit the papa and the plantain-tree grow to perfection and give their fruit within the year the plantain, in some of its kinds, supplies the place of bread and in all is of excellent nourishment.

These

These are not all the presents which the luxuriant hand of nature gives as food to the inhabitant of India, but as the natural history of this country is reserved for more diligent and able enquirers, this imperfect enumeration is sufficient to prove that the Indian, incapable as he is of hard labour, can rarely run the risk of being famished, and that from the plenty which surrounds him, he is confirmed in the debility in which we now see his frame.

Nature has made them still other presents, which supply many other of their wants, without exacting from them the exertion of much labour. The bamboo, which grows every where, requires only one stroke of the hatchet to split it from one end to the other, and to divide it into laths of all lengths and of the smallest sizes, at the same time that intire, it is large and strong enough to serve as the support of such houses as the climate demands, for in the greatest part of Indostan the bare earth affords a repose without the danger of diseases to so temperate a people. The palm and the coco-nut tree give them large fan leaves, which naturally separate into several long divisions, with which a mat may be made in a few minutes. A number of these mats laid over the scaffolding, erected with no other materials than the bamboo and pack-thread, compose in a day a house, in which the Indian may live for six months, in those parts of Indostan which are not subject to much rain. If a better house is required, walls of mud are raised up to the height of six or seven feet, and rendered in a few days extremely hard by the intense heat of

the

the sun these are covered with thatch made of rushes or the straw of rice and many persons of good casts and far from distress in their fortunes, even Bramins, are satisfied with such a habitation. There are bricks, and very good ones, in India but a brick house is a certain mark that the inhabitant is extravagant or rich . . .

The sun forbids the use of fuel in any part of the year as necessary to procure warmth and what is necessary to dress their victuals, is chiefly supplied by the dung of their cows.

The want of raiment is scarce an inconvenience and the most wealthy remain by choice almost naked, when in their own families and free from the intercourse of strangers so that all the manufactures of cloth, for which India is so famous, derive more from the decency of their character the luxurious taste of a rich and enervated people and from the spirit of commerce which has prevailed among them from time immemorial than from wants really felt and if the manufacture of a piece of cloth was not the least laborious task in which a man can be employed in India, it is probable that the whole nation would at this day be as naked as their Gymnosophists, of which the ancients say so much and knew so little. Breathing in the softest of climates having so few real wants and receiving even the luxuries of other nations with little labour from the fertility of their own soil the Indian must become the most effeminate inhabitant of the globe and this is the very point at which we now see him . . .

AUTHORITIES

CITED OR MENTIONED IN THIS VOLUME

The Titles which are printed in Italics, are in the Persic language

<i>ABDUL Fazel</i> , compiler of the <i>Ayin Acbari</i> ,	- - - - -	182
<i>Abulfeda</i> ,	- - - - -	217
<i>Ayin Acbari</i> , description of the Mogul empire under Acbar,	- - - - -	182
<i>Alcoran</i> ,	32 73 75 189 238 239	240
<i>Allumgire Namma</i> , history of the first ten years of Aurengzebe's reign,	- - - - -	167
<i>Alunguurnama</i> , the fame,	- - - - -	5 166 167 169
Anquetil du Perron, Mr	149 168 186 197 201 210 211 220 236 237.	239 263
Archives of the Decean,	- - - - -	183 See miss of Eastern writers
Baldæus,	- - - - -	264 291 292
Bedes, the four, in the Sahscrit language,	- - - - -	239 249 250
Bernier,	172 182, 195 232 240 265 267 291	292
Boddam, Mr Charles,	- - - - -	238
Boddam, Mr R H	- - - - -	238
Boughton, Rouse, Sir C W	- - - - -	169 245 251 256
Brett, Mr the translator of Tevjoo,	- - - - -	263
British Museum,	- - - - -	239
Burnet, Bishop,	- - - - -	278, 279
Buffy, Mr	- - - - -	257 292,
Capuchins at Surat,	- - - - -	173
Carré,	- - - - -	29 173 174 199
Catrou,	4 168, 169, 178 179 182 260	288
Chardin,	- - - - -	48 51 196 218 219 271
Charters and Acts of Parliament of the East India Company,	- - - - -	24 127
Child, Sir Josiah,	- - - - -	272 273
Chundersecker, Dr	- - - - -	282 284
Churchill's Collection of Voyages,	- - - - -	291
Coryat, Thomas,	- - - - -	364
	3 P	Colmags

AUTHORITIES

Cosmas Indicopleustes,	218
Dalrymple Mr Alexander	198 219 239
DAville, 182. 183. 184. 217 218. 226. 238. 257 258. 290 334 335. 458 459.	
Darek, Sultan eldest brother of Aurengzebe, ¹	73. 238 239 240
De Graaf	176. 201 202 207 250.
De l' Isle,	198
Dellon	174 175 208
Diodorus Siculus,	459
D'Orleans, le Pere	178.
Dow Mr Alexander	167 179. 180 183. 192. 193 195. 196. 251 3,3
Downton Capt.	336
Eastern writers,	179.
Epistles b Hayo editæ	228
Farewell Christopher	360.
Ferishta	167 179 209 210
Feyjoo	263.
Forbyn le Chevalier	275.
Frazer Mr	4 166 167 168 238
Frederick, Caesar	224. 225. 226 227
Fryer	177 178. 194. 195. 197 208. 212. 213 214 215. 216. 238 260. 262 263.
Fryke,	275. 277
Garcilosa della Vega,	470.
Gentil, M	17 146. 148. 149 171 237 292 302. 306.
Grand Abbé le	198.
Hallied, Mr	239.
Hamilton,	1 200. 267
Havart,	62 153. 212.
Haye, Monsieur de la,	30. 32 48 173. 174. 176. 177
Hayns,	228.
Herbert, St. Thomas	372. 373.
Histoire de Sevagi, et de son successeur par le Pere D'Orleans,	178
History and management of the East India company	300.
History of Indostan from the death of Acbar by Mr Dow See Dow	
Jarric Thesaurus,	218. 261
Jesuits,	61 163 227 228. 261
Journal de Mons. d la Haye. See H ye.	
Justification of the Netherlands company concerning Batavia,	273.
Kempfer	298
Kelmet Tybet remarkable sayings of Aurengzebe	166
Kerr Mr Alexander	180. 231
Législation orientale, by M A. du Perron, 163 236 See Anquetil d Perron.	
M	MANOUCHI,

AUTHORITIES

Schewitzer	-	375.
Scott, captain Jonathan,		310
Shidey Anthony		382
Shirley sir Robert,		336.
Smith general Richard,	-	183
Tachard le Pere		274. 275
Tamerlane's historian,		286
Tavernier	171 172 132 290 453	
Terry Edward		380
Thevenot, le Jeune,	178 173. 182 194. 231 234 257 291 292	459.
Vindication of the English East India company concerning Bantam &c.		273.
Uleg Beg		217
Universal History		103. 173
Zoroaster		182

INDEX.

The Geographical Names are printed in Italic.

A	B DALLA, prince of the Afghans,	237	Admiral in chief, Sambagis,	-	114	
	Abdilla Caun, governor of Alimorda bid,	972	Admiralty court, Bombay,	-	140	
Abdul, commander of the King of Vizapore's troops,	-	7	Adrig in de Borscht Varder Hoge,	-	272	
his son,	-	8	Adventurers <i>See</i> Interlopers			
Abdul I acel, Achbar's learned general,	182	Adraw, chiefs of,	-	252		
Abdul Gummee, physician of Hu shley	291	Afshins,	-	237		
Alita town,	-	109	Alra, -	-	56	
Ablutions in the Ginga,	-	143	Alzam,	-	264	
Allur, a great raj ship of Indostan,	13	Igra, city, 1 10 73 74 142 152 167 198 159 190 191 192 202 207 307 320 321 322 323 332 333 341 342 345 346 357 359 360 362 363 364 372	74	Alra, province,	-	71
Absence from animal food not so general in India as is imagined,	-	160	Alzadha Caun, an officer of Golcondeh,	296		
Abulseda, cotemporary with Friar Oderic,	-	217	Almedabad, city, 12 172 186 190 328 329 332 331 336 340 341 357 360 363 361 372 373			
Abulfaria,	-	56	Ahmedubal, subihi or province,	-	116	
Achbar (Al bar), emperor,	90	Alhrednager,	5 10 16 30 107 111 125 143 144 116 183 225 306 373	167	185	
185	186 191 196	Almed Schah,	-	-	295	
Achbar (Ecbar), sultan, son of Turengeze,	69	Alas, a Tatar, his good fortune,	185	187		
76 86 98 100 101 102 103	104 105 106 109 110 123 125 133 141 146 149 150 263 266 267 268 269 270 292	his wife,	-	-	185	
his son and daughter,	102 103 267	their daughter, born in the desert,			became the first of women, - 185	
Achmed Chan, son of Achmed ul Dowlah,	187	Ajijn Acbarri, a general description of the empire,	-	-	182	
Achmed ul Dowlah, vizir,	-	Alaeddin sultan, or Secunder Sani, emperor of Delhi,	-	-	211	
Adas of parliament and charters of the East India company,	-	Alaverdi Khan, 386 <i>See</i> Allaverdy Khan				
Adam, the most eminent prophet,	-	Albeville, marquis of,	272 273 279 280			
Adil Shah, King of Narsingah,	-	Alchymies, Mahomedans credulous in,	200			
Adjouli,	-	Alcoran, 32 73 75 189 238 239 240 241 242 244 245 403 451 468	289			
Administration of justice in civil cases in Indostan,	-	Alderton, master of one of the company's vessels at Bombay,	-	131 134 135 139		
143		Aldworth,				
Admiral, the mogul's, 133 <i>See</i> Mogul under the mentions relating to his fleets.						

INDEX.

INDEX

161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168	Bantār, old king, -	118 274 278 279
169 170 171 179 180 187 188 199	Baraer,	- - - - - 373
190 191 192 193 199 200 219 221	Barcelore,	- - - - - 326
222 223 236 237 238 239 240 250	Barde-, island of, near Goa, 40 41 210 211	
261 263 266 267 268 292 293 306	river, - - - - - 139	
307	Bardge, rajah of Bagland country	- 170
Attingerbi his death, -	Bardiana,	- 375
completely filled in the	Baron, Mr the French director at Surat, 32	
Arabic, Persic, and Tur-	Bashir of Sonnar, -	325
kish history, -	Baskets, beverage and his son made their escape	
his army, -	from Delhi in, - - - - - 15	
governor, -	Basi, captain,	- - - - - 213
public audience, -	Basfin, 12 23 31 4, 16 54 71 79 81 95	
used to call Sevā, the	115 116 126 110 141 112 175 206	
moon in it -	207 240 218 220 221 238 263 264	
Aurangzeb, sūcīr, -	360	
Azuritera, -	Basfin, fleet of, - - - - - 111	
Arim, sultan, son of Amengtibé, 76 86 98	governor of, - - - - - 46 71 116	
100 101 107 111 113 114 119 120	Basseri/antoma,	- - - - - 286
123 131 133 135 136 138 152 153	Batoria, in the island of Java, 118 177 208	
174 263 266 307 309	271 275 277 278	
Aur, city, 74 80 98 100 101 107 191	Bathurst, sir John,	- - - - - 279
561 572	Ieder, - 5 172 291 289 293 296	
Bacca See Basfin	Eddes, four Vedes, the sacred writings of	
Ballaes, - - - - - 209 257 295	the Hindoos in the Shanshrit language,	
Bagdād, - - - - - 382 383 397	239 219 250	
England, country, -	Bihar, province, - 3 25 201 202	
Bishnudar Khan, 21 51 53 60 61 63	Bekat, river, in Cashmire, - - - - - 187	
69 101 113 115 143 222 223	Bhopatam, - - - - - 174	
Shah, or the victorious King	Bendil, an Englishman, - - - - - 150	
Bologat, - - - - - 222	BLING IL, province, 3 5 49 76 127 128	
Bolidur, - - - - - 261 291 292	176 177 193 190 192 201 210 229	
Bolgef (Bologat), - - - - - 222	250 251 287 101 405 409 412 415.	
Bol-ut, purgannah, - - - - - 296	416 426	
Boll, - - - - - 171	BLING AL, government, - - - - - 128	
Bloon, or boat of ceremony	nubob of, - 129 399 424 426	
Baluchi, people of, - - - - - 337 338 339	427 150	
Balzar, - - - - - 369	records, 281 See Authorities	
Bamirs, sultane, - - - - - 204 205	Bengal, too rank for horses, - - - - - 262.	
Bamboo, - - - - - 408 471	Bengala, - - - - - 205 381	
Bararas, Benaras, city, - - - - - 239 243	Bengalore, - - - - - 155 156 157	
Bancapore, a circuit 60 221 222 256 257	Bengatre, a commandant, - - - - - 225	
Bandirry, a notorious Jew, - - - - - 203	Punjabi Gungarao, - - - - - 282	
Bang See the fabulous history of the Hin-	Berar, - 5 84 198 225 257 289	
dooe, note 1111 - - - - - 209 210	Berw ghies, - - - - - 254	
Bangham, a joiner - - - - - 321 322 323	Bergerah, - - - - - 171	
Baniers, - 72 335 336 344 358 465	Bernier, M' 172 182 195 212 240 265.	
Bantam, in the island of Java, - - - - - 118 270	267 291 292	
271 273 274 275 277 278 279 285	Best, captain, of the Dragon - - - - - 327 328.	
319 320 327 337 340 356 370 375	329 330 331 332 338 340 342 343.	
Bantam, city, - - - - - 118 274 276 279	345 375.	
new king, - - - - - 118 274 276 279	Beyah Bosman, - - - - - 282.	
	Bible, no tribe without one, - - - - - 212	
	Bicholin, near Goa, - - - - - 123 125.	
	Biddulph,	

INDEX.

- Biddleph, Mr. 343, 362
 Bider 237
 Budsoor.. 234, 249
 Bullyong fort 60, 21 222
 Burne, river 239, 293, 296
 Bayley, bay of, 373
 Behullah, 240.
 Bazaar city 61, 224, 225, 226, 227, 209
 King 61, 227, 231
 kingdoms, 227
 Boats of Goa, armed with pectoros, 124
 Bodham, M. Charles, 238
 Mr R. H. 258
 DOMBAIL—bay 30, 33, 38, 70, 206, 212,
 216, 222, 223, 224
 boats, 79, 81, 82, 83, 87, 107
 council, 74, 82, 97, 107, 108, 109,
 116, 117, 122, 137, 140, 236
 fleet, vessels, 69, 80.
 fort 63, 113, 131, 139
 gallivat, 107
 garrison 6, 80, 81, 121
 government, 43, 44, 46, 63, 71,
 79, 80, 83, 85, 118, 136, 139,
 140, 221
 governor 93, 140
 Grana, 80.
 BOMBAY—barbouer 182, 31, 32, 35, 36, 38,
 39, 42, 43, 33, 60, 70, 2, 77, 312, 319
 1, 5, 126, 132, 134, 139, 178, 218, 237
 , 267
 BOMBAY—island, 23, 31, 32, 33, 36, 38, 39
 41, 4, 47, 48, 49, 51, 53, 71, 78, 79, 81
 6, 83, 93, 96, 97, 98, 104, 105, 109, 110
 111, 11, 114, 115, 116, 119, 120, 127
 1, 130, 139, 140, 197, 198, 203, 12
 224, 237, 248, 249, 264, 267
 BOMBAY—military 33, 130
 militia, 33
 port, 64
 presidency 138, 140
 reconis, 203, 214, 219, 221, 227
 233, 236, 60. See A thorntun
 town, 26, 42, 53, 121, 130, 134
 177, 194, 197, 203, 216, 237
 , 268
 trust, 3, 305
 Bombay, the East India man, 212, 213
 Bombe, not made use of in the arms of
 A rengrehe, 190
 Bonaparte A rengrehe, 166
 Boraif, districts of, 2111
 Bonfils name of Seppa & Lally 190
 Boopathi, the son of Rajah Dubal, 333, 334
 5, 1
- Bouchet M^r 127, 128, 129, 130
 Boughart, proctored the first plirmansch and
 establishment of the company in Bengal,
 in 1636, 128
 Bourdon 16c — 174, 176
 Brachman, the 432, 433, 434, 435, 439,
 439. See Bramha.
 Bramah, the doctrines of, 73, 239.
 Bramin—Bramha, 40, 43, 63, 70, 90, 147
 148, 200, 227, 234, 238, 239, 243, 253,
 254, 261, 264, 267, 432, 433, 434, 435, 439,
 466, 47—
 Bramin—Bramhas, wife, 34
 will eat fish or flesh, 169
 Brespor 3, 17, 20, 47, 73, 76, 81, 89, 106,
 107, 113, 143, 144, 172, 236, 237, 363
 364, 371, 372
 Brett, Mr. his translation of Feyjoo quoted
 1, 263
 Bribea gl en by Seragi, how judiciously ap-
 plied, 93
 Bricks, very good ones in India, 472
 Bridgwater 234 See Bideover
 British empire, 239 See Halbed
 nation, 3
 Britons, 466
 Brock city 145, 149, 287, 288, 334, 336,
 343, 344, 336, 337, 371, 372, 373,
 territory 1, 1 287
 Brodres man, 1 334, 343, 356, 337, 373.
 Brown, captain, 213
 Bowdrow 282
 Buggih — 401 See Borey
 Boddal Khan. Pitam, general officer of
 the Malabar government, 34, 76, 144
 145, 233.
 Boudedan 170.
 Barnet, Bish p. quoted, 213 3, 278, 27
 Bayare, 1 130
 Bayare 172.
 Bayly 31 237, 239
 Bayly or paynather-general, 303, 401 See
 Beggfu
 Byram Chan, — 167
 Cablis Ca n, minister of Bambay, 1, 1, 162
 163, 303.
 Cabot, 8, 21, 49, 67, 171, 207, 306
 Cach, or ecclesiastical judge 217
 7, 1 of Misra, 172.
 of Tannah, 1, 17
 Calar 4, 4 438
 Caesar, the son of Iustinian, 1 215
 Caesar, Juddak 224, 1 certain the older 274
 223, 26, 227

INDEX

41 80 100 111 123 176 1 3 711 11 Cloud Upper belonging t Siam, 65.7 subedar govern 5 72.	Clare don Lord, 272. Clive see Clad, 11 407 408 4 1 Cl th, the triple f the trade of Indof n, 409 410 411 412 413 4 ~
Clouds after 14 Chambo t M the subadar from Louis t the King f Siam, 274	Cock Cordial garments too splendid for the finery of Mahomedan 251.
Childie M the Earl of Cawr 71	Coco-nut tree 408 470 471
Child, Sir John president f Durat, 109 131 132 134 139 233 224 fl J fish, 273	Coello, Anthony 203
Cl Thibetans ~ 8	Caffre, 56. 240. 460.
Chilli, the hottest fall vegetable prod from used for food, 469	Cognac 174.
Chungul Mukluk, so f Wagim, 301	Coja Nazar Moerb C officer 343. 344.
Chine, 700, 35 415. 4 3 457 Junk, 203. low 203.	Coker breed f horses there, 262.
Chinapow on which was rolled 1 or 8t George and town of Madras 1610 62 229. 230.	Colbert, the French minister, 173.
Chinese 461	Coknow river 62. 69. 304.
Chippewa, 34 See Tugger ~ 28.	Commerce the spirit of f India, 414 438.
Chippett 234 See Gingee.	Commission of the king against pirates, 133.
Chippy 438	Commissioners appointed to govern f Island of Bombay, 24. on the affairs of Bentley and Ma- calier 271 4 ~
Chittagong, 438 great harb'p 74 76. 25 93 90 100 107 4.. 182 251 raja of, ~ 73. rajas 5, 6. See Ranah	Comorin Island of, 376.
Chittagong 160 161	Comorin, Sea Cape Comorin.
Chongas, 33~	C & M meaning the English East India company of which even when expressed, the references are inserted under this head f COMPAK 1 as are the references of Ex. LION, when meaning the COMPANY + 76 84 33. 36. 39. 62 88. 118 127 128. 190. 151 155 156 230. 235. 270. 271 27 272. 279. 319. 320. 337 341. 343 364. 381.
Chout, the fourth part of the m. one 46.	C & M M their charter March 27th 1660, charters and acts f parlia- ment, 177
Christendom, prince of 385. 386. 388.	commerce, 220. 230. 273.
Christian milites f Bombay 33.	company now 136.
Christianity f establish in the cause of hu- manity 430. 434. its glories, 434.	establishment of Surat, 282. fleet vessels at Bombay 82. 83.
Christians, 43 203. 205 291. 348. 383. 384. 439	{Foreigner particular con- cerning this fleet for under the article of BOOMBA }
Chronology of the Hindoos, 210. M rations, 211	governments of India, 137
Chota, river 183. 307	interest, 137
Chudleesker D 28. 284	investment, 161 222.
Chowp 84 236.	licence, 178.
Churchill collection f cyphers, ~ 291	marine 380.
Chowpatty, the country 4 406.	property 130.
Clear of Habbadouroo, 183. 184	Co-
Circars, governments, 183. 184 210 245.	
Circassian w/o f Aaregheba 4.	
Civil cast of Hindoos, 435.	

INDEX

Dabul	123 206 91 93 351 355	Depulture from Bombay to Ratnacat Cawn,
Daets	281 303 412	117
Dalrymple, M. Alexander	194 219 33	Depot-governor of Bombay <i>See</i> M. Ward,
Damascus, an ancient city in Persia,	106	181 13 159
Dame Damer	1 2 11 23 41 59 53	Defence checks flint & steel, 33 37 143.
71 91 115 127 179 141 1 3 1 3 206	14 2 16 131 341 313 360 364	14 2 16 131 341 313 360 364
18 1 16 131 341 313 360 364	364	14 2 16 131 341 313 360 364
D. I. He M. 182 183 184 17 18 226	223 13 38 790 311 333 410	Debri, debris, the f & of 233.
Dahab Sultan, elder brother of Aurenghzebe	49 73 166 187 188 189	Diamonds (13 1C un) king of Singapore 223.
190 191 198 200 10	his pr. yet to Rud 13	Diamonds whose the property of the fore-
his preface to the Oupnchhat,	210	reign, 414
Darli Jay	184	Diamonds, from the auto of Raulkooedah,
Darling, the, an East Indianman,	375	206
Darnespan	63	Diodorus Siculus, his account of an Indian
David	207	woman, who burnt herself with the corpse
David	286	of her husband, 419.
David citadel,	144 286	Directors of the East Ind. company 190.
Davidl,	233.	Dissimulation of the Indians, 428 431
Davis, commander of an East Indianman,	157	Dhine unity — 241
Debere Chan,	191	Dha, Island, 46 1 5 340 341 361 369 372
DECCAN 3 6 9 11 2 13 15 17 19	34 35 36 37 38 39 35 63 93 99 100	Dhal port, 3 3 340 358
10 1 23 81 89 56 63 93 99 100	101 106 109 110 159 170 171 181	Dhawla, fortresses, 338 339 373
183 188 192 204 210 211 226 233	183 188 192 204 210 211 226 233	Dhaw country — 184
234 237 238 239 246 289 290 292	234 237 238 239 246 289 290 292	Dhons king, 17
293 294 306 307 334	293 294 306 307 334	Dog, poison served to Sambagl pruned on
Decan, son of H. w. See the fabulous his-	one, 103	one, 103
tory of the Hindus, <i>in note</i> XIX , page	209, 210.	Dogs, bambap. Hands and body devoured
Deew	7 110 157 262	by dogs, by order of Aurenghzebe,
De Graaf, the Dutch surgeon, 176 201 202	207 250.	164
Dehra	—	sent as presents to the emperor 330.
Deira Sirang, Sorangi admiral, 70.	Dejengg Dragons Darogow, 84 143	
Delice	210. <i>See</i> Deene.	236 37
De la Haye. <i>See</i> II yr	Deon Jeronimo d. Arevalo, viceroy of Goa,	
DELHI 3 4 7 13 14 15 17 18 19 20	313 331 333 333 336 360, 361 368,	
21 50 51 5 64 67 73 75 89 91 100	379.	
181 152 186 189 185 188 189 190	De Orleans, Pere jesuit, 178.	
191 192 193 196 202 211 236 284	Desiabed 154 170	
306 307 308 399 400 402 416 421	Desme — 239	
Dezhire, Del Khan, lieutenant-general to	Dove one of the Bombay crabs, 80.	
Sultan Asim, 18 21 26 27 28 69 84 85	Dow M. Alexander 167 179 180 185	
100 106 119 106	19 193 195 196 51 373.	
Deffie, 31 ^r	Dowlet Cawn, Sorangi admiral, 70 71 80.	
Deffen, the physician, 174 175 208.	83 87 93 114	
Desar-rode	— his fleet, 80.	
Daugarter	Downton, captain Nicholas, 376 341 345	
	346 347 349 380 382 383 384 385	
	386 380 370 373 375.	
	Dragons, the, an East Indianman, 327 330	
	375	
	Drek, In Indofan, 410.	
	Dregges, a report, 262.	
	Drea,	

INDEX

- EXCISE IN BOMBAY**
- fact. re at Dronogram*, 84 113 256.
 - fact. by*
 - at Calicut*, 101 370.
 - Carwar* 27 208. 38.
 - Pettipoly* 21.
 - Senzai*, 15 25. 109 323.
 - 379. 333. 343* 370. - feet* *effets belonging to the Government of Bombay* 80. 81.
 - 82. 87*. - goods*, 367.
 - government at Bombay* 57 72.
 - 8.*
 - Madrasa*, 161.
 - Surat and Bombay* 8 126.
 - 329.*
 - governor at Madrasa*, 203.
 - bore the emperor' wife to her a large one*, 265.
 - in India*, 88. 109. 111 115. 117.
 - 120. 157. 174. 234* 271 273.
 - 276. 277. 278. 34* 370 323.
 - 330. 331. 331. 340. 34* 343.
 - 344. 346. 346. 331. 353. 360*.
 - 361. 366. 367* 365.
 - merchants*, 333.
 - nation*, 44. 329 360 370.
 - office*, 183.
 - pirates*, 329.
 - presidency at Surat*, 70 83. 89.
 - 112. 121. 35*.
 - president, Mr Angler* 33.
 - records*, 199 303.
 - rel. to*, 335.
 - ships*, 200. 319. 320. 321 326.
 - 327. 329. 332. 334. 336* 343.
 - 349. 350. 351. 333. 34* 333.
 - 356. 357. 378. 380*.
 - strangers*, 319.
 - subjects*, 123. 328.
 - at Surat*, 122.
 - trade*, 319 322. 323. 328 379.
 - 349. 357. 365. 370. 374*.
 - wrecks*, 43.
 - See Angler, Beaufort, Bombay, Carwar, Dronogram, Surat*.

Zogilah, Mr J. m., agent of Persia, 139.

Englishman, individual, 33. 135 150. 321.

327. 333.

Englishmen, force at Surat, 123 321 322.

Esthronement of Sevagi, magnificent, 40. 43.

Epitaph ab Hayo edice, 228.

Fooling, captain, 13.

Fox, captain, 1.

Fryar i me le, 16.

Eden, 1 f.

Elkhow, 214.

Emperors the many 6.

EUROPE 13. 177 160. 14 193 203. 204.

206. 36. 303. 327. 327. 34. 343. 386.

387. 39. 411. 415. 418. 477. 410. 437.

46. 470.

European commerce in India 48.

 - custom*, 427.
 - defence*, 1. 1.
 - fact. re in Bengal* 44.
 - fortification*, 1.
 - go bers*, 232.
 - imports into India*, 97.
 - markets*, - 83.
 - nations*, 31 44 344 414 415.
 - 416.*
 - power any* 121.
 - settlements in India*, 125 427.
 - soldiers*, 60.
 - the flers have rarely seen bores* at open pasture in India, 69.
 - women*, 464.

Europeans in general, 4 30. 57 77 106.

 - 178. 179. 180. 191. 201. 210.*
 - 220. 236. 275. 299. 339. 349.*
 - 412. 413. 417. 426. 427. 428.*
 - 460. 461. 46. 463. 464.*
 - Dutch* 48.
 - in the Dutch fleet*, 31.
 - English* 33. 72. 79. 82. 130.
 - military serving in India*, 100.
 - Po tague*, 122. 123.

Expedition, the, an East Indiaman 336. 337.

 - 340. 338. 368. 373*.

Fabulous histories of the Hindoos, 209. 210.

Fact. re, 84 116. 118. 125. 122. 143 237.

 - 39. 77. 287. 329. 343. 344. 346. 346.*
 - 357. 360. 367. 363.*

Fact. rice, 13. 5. 26 37 53. 115 118 145.

 - 121. 133. 137. 161. 174. 173. 199. 201.*
 - 202. 264. 207. 208. 212. 246. 271. 277.*
 - 281. 303. 33. 333. 340. 363.*

Fakir, 240. 244.

Famines, 405 414.

Farm Il, Christopher factor 360.

Farm de Sozma, 349 358. 360. 361 362.

378.

Farmers, 403. 404 405.

Farmian Hercules, 466.

Fews,

INDEX

Obligation	as	COLCUNDAH	king, 1. 6. 25. 3. 33. 15 kingdom 5. 10. 61. 6 91. 141. 147. 148. 150. 151. 15. 159. 188. 19. 290.
Cloot, or territory over Damnan	7	territory	22.
O f m. M president of Madras,	115	G W, acquired hundred degrees of excel-	
OLIGEE country 115. 1. 1. 106. 157. 158.		lence in receiving the name of Noor	
156. 159. 161. 202. 203. 204. 205.		Jehan,	146.
fort, 63. 64. 69. 115. 155. 156.		mothers, 1. 104. 186.	
governor 299		Savagi publicly weighed against 43.	14.
Ginger produced easily in the gardens of		and silver ornaments mark of sup-	410.
India, ~ 469		porty	
Ginger & governor 6 84. 57		Goldberry captain, 213.	
island and fort, 9. 1. 31. 3. 5.		Gelgat the company factory there 281. 283.	
38. 41. 48. 5. 54. 55. 56. 57.		Combreer 173. 177. 218. 219. 27.	
64. 65. 70. 71. 72. 78. 82. 110.		Gong, meaning town, 236.	
11. 119. 199.		Gospala, the, 241. 35.	
Gladman, Mr John of the council Bombay	139	Goschakshuvar 233.	
Globe th an East Indian, 373. 376. 380.		General, ~ 250.	
GO. 1 bar 133.		Goor See Ghoor	
city 1. 73. 34. 35. 37. 38. 40. 43.		Goo erach of Abawed bed, Noor Jehan, p-	
62. 53. 60. 111. 170. 1. 3. 1. 1. 1.		ointed 186.	
127. 139. 135. 134. 175. 176. 177.		Government of Indofian, nature of 297.	
178. 197. 203. 204. 205. 206. 224.		Go eror of Misulipatam, defeated by his	
223. 227. 2. 9. 292. 334. 360. 368.		people, 157.	
376.		Grabe 46. 63. 78. 80. 83. 87. 88. 111. 170.	124. 145.
government, or council of, 23. 122.		Grand, 1666 le, 198.	
harbour of 140. 145		Grand Signor 33.	
island, 133. 350.		Gantham & Thomas, commander of the	
island, 40. 210. 224. 293. 291. 32.		ship Chark the seafod, 138. 139. 140.	
northern territory of, meaning of		General 337. 335. 375	
Baffin and Daman, 143.		general 338. 339.	
territory of, adjacent to 1. 122.		General 144. 146. 296.	
203. 264		General 192. 240.	
levee of, 23. 170. 193. 133. 203.		Gulha, 58.	
344. 345. 348. 349. 331. 333. 335.		Gunders 333.	
336. 360. 361. 363.		Gurchar 340.	
Gowd 144. 286. 287		Ganges Gange, river 112. 143. 283. 28.	
Gozza, in the Carnatic, 177		Gulha Adolphus, Savagi compared to 174.	
Grod, the words of, 240. 241. 42. 459.		General 9. 11. 14. 15. 74. 103. 14. 176.	
Codford river 157		183. 190. 10. 261. 463.	
Goch, Rockford Van. See Blackflock		ship, 327.	
Goes John, Lord of Abemade, 77.		Gymnopholis, 439. 47.	
Gogo 138. 346. 352. 361. 369. 372.		Hegre the king sends commissioners there, 480.	
COLCUNDAH army 43. 6. 15. 177. 231.		Haldew Mr N H his translation of the	
cavalry, 147		Opacockhai in the British M. from, 239.	
city and fortres taken, 153.		Hans, the f Noah. See the fabulous	
king, 30. 31. 48. 51. 6. 63.		history of the Hindus in note x	
91. 141. 147. 148. 150.		209. 210.	
151. 152. 153. 154. 156.		Hindoo	

INDEX

Hamedrow, Sambagi's principal general,	114	Hindoo races, - - - - -	210
Hamilton, Mr	200 267	rajas, - - - - -	14
Haramcores, the buryers and burners of dead bodies, - - - - -	465	sovereigns, - - - - -	40
Hargee, Hargi Rajah, 61 115 116 155 156 158 159 160 299 303		theology, - - - - -	239
Hari, Hargi Pharsang, a person of great quality, - - - - -	105 269,	worship, - - - - -	99
Harris, Mr Bartholomew, believes a pre- diction, - - - - -	200	History and management of the East India company, - - - - -	300
Hastings, Warren, Esq	210	Hodgee Comal, the governor of Guadeloupe, physician, - - - - -	330
Havart, - - - - -	62 153 212	Hog, the, given to a judge to obtain justice,	445
Havildar, - - - - -	402	HOLLAND, states of, 30 47 169 176 209 272, 275	
Hawkins, captain William, of the Hector,		Hollanders, the Javans could hardly bear them, - - - - -	275
319 320 321 322 323 337 342 363 375		Hope, an East Indiaman, - - - - -	350 351 352. 355 356 357
Haye, Monsieur de la, 30 32 48 173 174 176 177		Horatu, the country of, - - - - -	466
Hayus, - - - - -	228	Horse merchants, - - - - -	226
Hazari, commander of one thousand horse, 170		Horses bred in India rarely seen at open pasture - - - - -	261 262 418
Hector, East Indiaman, the first English ship which came to Surat, in August 1608, 318 321 353 355 375		Hubely, - 34 35 36 44 137 144 208 286	
Heer Gerrard Hoost, - - - - -	272	Hughley, - - - - -	202 230 281 282 283
Hegira, - - - - -	186 244	Hunday, island, 78 87 96 98 107 108 126	
Heinsius, Lord Anth	- - - - -	Hunter, frigate, - - - - -	82 131 139
Hell, Mahomed the prophet in hell with his father the devil, - - - - -	217	Hushulhookum, or injunction, - - - - -	382
Helmets, in the temple of Elephanta, - - 449.		Hussars of the sea, - - - - -	112
Hendoo, from whence Indian, - - - - -	460	Hussein Ally, a general of Aurengzebe, 110 113	
Herbert, Sir Thomas, - - - - -	372 373	Huttany, a mart, - - - - -	186 137 258
Hereditary lords of the land of Vizziapore, 144		Hyde, commander of the ship President, 120 213	
Heretic, - - - - -	206	Hyderabad, - - - - -	30 58 147 152
Hidalgoes, or gentry, - - - - -	355	Jaffer, nabob of Bengal, - - - - -	4
Hidden book, the most ancient - 244 See Cupnekhat		Jaffnapatam, - - - - -	207
Hide, captain, - - - - -	213 See Hyde	Jaghires, or seifs, - - - - -	171 221
Hieronimo Xavier, a jesuit, - - - - -	360	Jamboo, - - - - -	118
HIND, India. See the fabulous history of the Hindoos in note ^{VII} page		James, the, an East Indiaman, 375 377 380	
209 210		JAMES the first, king, - - - - -	319 336 359
the ancient sect of, - - - - -	241	Janagar in Soret, - - - - -	373
Hindoo, Hindoos, 56 73 74 75 76 86 125 180 182 209 210 249 250 254 255 261 285 293 294 348		Janissaries, - - - - -	384 387
gods, Sevagi the champion of, 90 239		Japan, - - - - -	324 457
marriages, - - - - -	162	emperor of, - - - - -	441
merchants, - - - - -	385	Jar of oil given by the plaintiff to a judge to obtain justice, - - - - -	445
powers, - - - - -	76	Jarnu thefaurus, - - - - -	228 261
princes, - - - - -	6 305	Jaunbaser, - - - - -	372
		Java, island of, - - - - -	118 270
		principalities, - - - - -	118
		Javans, forty thousand slain in different en- gagements with the Dutch, - - - - -	275
		3 R	Ibrahim

INDEX

- Draham Khan, captain-general of the King of Golcoo dah, 147 148 152 156 159 290 297 not trusted with the go ern-
ment he had betrayed, 159.
- Dhal Cawn, 225. See Dhalcan.
- Jehangir, or lord of the world, 183 185 187 188 319 341 359 373.
- Jeridah, - 281.
- Jersual, town, 16. 26 27 46 47 193 197 292.
- Jouneek Gar fort, 16. 17 22 24 47 110. 177 193.
- Jeffwoot King, the Maha Rajah, of Joudpoor or Maravar, when mentioned either by his name or title, 11. 14. 74 75 90. 103. 190. 196
his letter to Aurungzebe 292.
- Jejunta, 61. 168. 169. 227 228 261 321 322 360 365.
travellers, 61.
- Jesus, the followers of, 253.
- Jettipore, town, 64.
- Jew Banderra, a notorious one, 203.
- Ignorance, and the love of wonder con-
verted to their own counsels, 200.
- Imam or prince of Muscat, 43.
- Imposter. See Sahan, pretender
- INDIA 21. 23. 36. 38. 56. 57 91 95. 123. 127 155. 166. 168. 171 172. 173. 178. 179. 180. 193. 195. 198. 203. 209. 211. 216 227 229. 233. 236. 264. 273. 275. 322. 323. 325. 334. 341 347 367 379. 380. 407 408. 418 416. 432. 434 457 459. 457 468. 470. 471. 472.
house, keeper of the records there, 181.
- languages of, 263.
- many resources prevent the in-
habitants of from perishing by
famine, 470.
- of the human frame in, 462. 464.
- penisular of, 458.
- plough of, a feeder instrument, 464.
- principalities of, 33.
- proper 364.
- less of, - 46. 319. 346.
- word, 21.
- worth the enquiry in what parts
good horses are bred, 262.
- India—Indians, 412. 413. 414. 425 459 460. 461. 463. 464. 466. 469. 471. 472.
- Indian—Indians, colour of, 461.
- devotee, Sambagi dressed
in the fantastic orna-
ments of a wandering
Indian devotee, 164.
- extraordinary tumblers, 462.
- hair of, 460.
- muscular strength of, 463.
- feature of, 464.
- Indo-Scyllis 459.
- INDO-SIYAN 3. 4 29. 49. 50. 74 99. 148. 166 187 211 214. 235. 236. 397 403. 407 408. 409. 410 411 412. 413. 414. 417 421. 422. 423. 425 429. 433. 437 438. 439 440. 442. 443. 445. 447 452. 457 458. 459. 460. 462. 464. 467 471
battle in, 419.
- climate of, 407 461 467.
- empire of, 397 407.
- government of 401 448.
- labourer of, 463.
- people of, 399. 407 413. 419. 442. 446. 454. 467 468.
- politics of, 430.
- Indus, river 5. 51 52. 67 74 236. 293. 334. 336. 337 340. 358.
- a race of strong border are bred
there 262.
- Inuddeh, 203. 204. 205.
- Ingraham 222. 223.
- Inheritances in Indostan, 438.
- Inquisition of Goa, burnt prisoners, 123. 129.
- Interlopers, 187 129. 130. 137.
- Interloping ships, 127 128. 129.
trade, 169.
- Investment at Broach, 1683, 228.
- Carsar 1683, 209.
- Inevitable friends, Navarrete's house assailed
by, 200.
- Jogdah, 254.
- John, Dr S. an affianced to the council
Bombay 139.
- Jara Siddee, 8. 9.
- Jodhpur, a great rajahship of Indostan, 11. 18. 74 76. 90. 100. 103. 104 107 142. 231.
- Joseph, captain, 375. 376. 379.
- Jowbedder 375.
- Ijheken, 160. 172. 196. 219. 220. 291. 337 340. 359. 381. 390.
- Judy 382. 459.
- Judge, his manner of deciding cases in
Indostan, 443. 446.
- Judge,

INDEX

<i>Madagascar</i>	174. 276. 376. 379.	Mahomedan power,	-	8.
<i>Madras</i> , -	330.	princess,	440. 459.	
<i>MADRASSA</i> , 48. 62. 63. 114. 116. 164.	203. 212. 213. 229. 230.	prophet,	-	250.
214.	231. 232. 233. 235. 270.	religion,	233. 236.	
4	agency 118. 229. 230. 230.	states,	-	91.
council, 116. 299. 302. 303.	records, 229. 230. 231. 233.	Mahomedans in India, as well as in Turkey		
founded in 1640.	235. 236. 290. 296.	credulous in alchemy	-	200.
government, 136. 157. 160.	records, 229. 230. 231. 233.	Mahomedanism,	293. 437.	
161. 231. 306.	235. 236. 290. 296.	Malon Professor Paris, the Jenkins library		
governor f,	304.	there,	-	164.
records, 229. 230. 231. 233.	March	-	294.	
235. 236. 290. 296. 302. 303.	Malabar coast of, 32. 42. 77. 100. 200. 203.	Malabar coast of, 32. 42. 77. 100. 200. 203.		
	304.	pirates,	-	33. 361.
<i>Madura</i> , country	61. 228. 231. 299. 301.	Malabars, -	-	361.
<i>Mahamedegar</i> clear of,	287.	Malay islands,	-	457.
<i>Mahipur</i>	286.	nations, -	-	460. 461.
<i>Maha Rajah</i> ,	300.	Maldives	-	203.
<i>Maha Rajah</i> , Jeff esp. King of Jodhpore	11.	Nalim Gany	-	333.
90. 103. 190. 191. 196.	371. 372. 373.	Mallor curar	-	239. 290.
<i>Malik</i> , channel f,	33. 71. 81.	Malynes	-	147. 288.
fort,	71.	Mah province,	19. 20. 74. 76. 142. 251.	
Malmoodie, the an Indian ship,	525.	Malwa river	-	184.
Mahomed, son of Sebab-takin,	4. 9.	Maser	-	207.
Mahobet Cam,	371. 372. 373.	Mawil,	-	184.
MAN WUD the founder of the religion,	164.	Mazda	-	373.
201. 217. 240. 253. 263. 423. 449. 459.	Manrum, son of Arvengroo,	Maziglyris,	-	289.
Mahomed, eldest son of Aurangzeb,	188.	Jelam ul Deen Akbar,	-	175. 227.
	189.	Kam, the same as Mirra Caffin,	-	372.
Jelam ul Deen Akbar,	183.	Mazzael,	-	289.
Kam, the same as Mirra Caffin,	16.	Manouchi, 153. 164. 165. 179. 195. 224.	-	
Manrum, son of Arvengroo,	commonly called Sultan Man-	235. 236. 237. 251. 260. 266. 267.	232.	
manum.	rum. 17. See Manrum.		288.	
Noon 1 Deen Jebangheer	233.		290.	
Sedick, commander of Aurang-	Sebe army	Manzaf,	-	67.
zeb's army	160.	Manzafes of Indostan,	-	409. 413.
Shah	167. 267.	Manuscripts of Eastern writers,	166. 167.	
Skuffia, f Delhi, author f the	122.	168. 169. 171. 180. 183. 193. 204. 210.		
Mirat ul Wardi t,	91.	221. 222. 237. 257. 258. 283. 286. 287.		
Mahomedan, Mahomedans, 56. 73. 96. 103.	167.		290. 293. 301.	
124. 147. 162. 163. 180. 210.		Mazar	-	184.
211. 215. 217. 231. 239. 250.		Mavar,	-	227.
251. 254. 255. 263. 303. 379.		Mardi, purgannah,	-	286.
	457. 468.	Markat, son of Decan. See the fabulous his-		
blood,	122.	tory of the Hindooes in vol. XX. page		
cavalry in India,	91.	209. 210.		
defeat,	96.	Marriages f the Hindooes contracted by the		
empire,	438.	parents during the earliest infancy of their		
government,	217.	children,	162.	
King of Mysore,	61.	Marts English, 40. 47. 64. 94. 96. 293. 334.	-	
King, meaning of Vizaporo			415. 416.	
and Goldsorab,	40. 223.	Marter rajah of	-	251.
		Marser	-	83.
		Magisterium,	273. See Misticalepation.	
		Mafinberg, the, as East Indians,	-	213.
		Mailiff	-	

INDEX

- MOGUL empire, 3. 21. 142. 167. 172. 173
179.
- MOGUL, mentions relating to his Ad-
MINISTRATION and govern-
ment.
ambassador 232.
council, 190.
court, - 123. 128. 320. 321. 328.
dynasty 362.
government in general 84. 128.
158. 303. 344
at Surat, 82. 128.
governor of Daul, 340.
Pishavir - 49.
Jenachah, 195.
governors of Surat, - 93.
officers, - 319. 334. 346.
present, 364.
purveyors, 343.
tercio, - 321.
falsa of the Decca, 93.
subjects, 13. 73. 341.
- MOGUL, mentions relating to his Do-
MINION,
country 77. 183. 222. 324. 328.
349. 363. 367. 368.
lands, - 15.
ports, 367. 414.
territory - 51.
- MOGUL, mentions relating to his FLEET
admiral, 10. 132.
fleet, 27. 29. 34. 35. 36. 54. 64.
114. 116. 116. 117. 119. 121.
126. 133. 134. 135.
flaglets, - 38.
ships, 63. 65. 66.
title to wrecks, 219.
vessels (called the king), 29.
- MOGUL, mentions relating to his WAR-
FARE
army 17. 28. 37. 33. 67. 84. 114.
116. 133. 134. 149. 152. 153.
156. 159. 160. 161. 195. 202.
296. 330. 341. 343.
camp, - 7. 47. 195.
cavalry 132. 163.
encampment, 161.
forces, 60. 126.
general, 60. 160.
general's horse - 24. 66. 160.
nation 89.
soldiery 18.
- Mogul troops 10. 16. 18. 47. 71. 90. 101.
119. 142. 143. 157. 161. 165.
301.
- Mogul, emperor of the 100.
- Moguls, meaning their sovereignty in India,
4. 3. 30. 158. 212. 301. 361. 457.
- Mogul's mother 325.
- Mogul's son, 203.
- Moldavia island of, 362. 378.
- Mohars gold, - 104.
- Moham Shah, - 240.
- Mohawk territory 123.
- Mohors, port of, - 379.
- Mongol, fort, 201. 202.
- Monopoly of the trade to India, by the Dutch, 971.
- Monothelism, 241. 242. 42. 244.
- Monefou, 41. 42. 49. 64. 107. 110. 113. 140.
201. 350. 461.
- Monfrédo abbot of the forms of justice in
Indofon, 448.
- Monteçquieu, 466.
- Moodipah, bramha, 147.
- Moorish captains, 223.
government, 341.
governor of San Thomé, 302.
- Moor, 22. 41. 717. 724. 763. 269. 300. 397.
418. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 427. 428.
431. 432. 433. 435. 439. 440. 441. 443.
444. 451. 452.
- Moorish ship, 417.
- Morad Baksh, 171. See Cawn Baksh.
sultan, brother of Acregrabe, 73.
187. 189. 190. 191. 192.
- Morah Pandit, "Bevag," principal general,
and first minister 7. 29. 44. 46. 55. 57.
64. 66. 70. 84. 85. 87. 90. 91. 95. 272.
273. 274.
- M RATTOR, country, 6. 41. 711. 212. 230.
263. 265.
- erect, 211.
canton, 143.
government, 114. 164. 203.
303. 304.
- governor of Porto Novo, 116.
- Individual, 143.
- language 41. 210. 211. 303.
- nation, 6. 41. 171. 178. 180.
181. 210. EJS. 337. 237. 237.
- 301.
- religion, 44. 211.
- sovereignty 45. 233.
- state - 303.
- M R TROUS

INDEX.

MORATTOES in WAR		
boats, - - - - -	124	
cavalry, - - - - -	91 92	
detachments, - - - - -	160 161	
foot, - - - - -	123	
generals, - 155 160 161	235	
horse, 84. 123 157 163	225	
	226	262
troops, mentioned or implied,		
8 119 146 160 161	302	
	303	
Moses, the books of, - - - - -	241 244	253
Mosques, - - - - -	75 152 215 216	293
Moudgal, purgannah, - - - - -	286	287
Mountain rat, Sevagi compared to, - - - - -	263	
Mousafir Khan, - - - - -	294	
Moystaphabad, circar (i e Dabul), - - - - -	184	
Mouzafernagar, circar, - - - - -	289	
Mullahs, or priests, - - - - -	216	
Mujmal al Barham, i e the uniting of both seas, - - - - -	238	
Multan, province, - - - - -	76	190
Mumlaza Zemani, the most exulted of the age,		
	187	188
Munchuas, boats, - - - - -	80	82
Bundetas, - - - - -	357	
Munshi, author of Alumguirnama, - - - - -	166	
Munshi Mahomed Kalm ben Mahommens Amin, - - - - -	166	
Munsabar, - - - - -	402	
Munsurally Cawn, - - - - -	415	
Myscat, - - - - -	45 120 127 150	337 338
Muscovite empire, - - - - -	399	
Mussulmanism, - - - - -	459	
Mussulmen, - - - - -	255 293	294
Muradatad, the capital of Bengal, 405 449		
Myfore, Myfore, kingdom, 63 141 155 156		
	157	175 234 301 399.
Nabichadourouk, circar of, - - - - -	183	184
Nabob, - 157 202 343 344 349 351	353	
	354	397 398 399 400 401 402 403
	416	424 440 441 444 447 448 449
	451	
Nabobship, - - - - -	415	
Nadir Shah, - - - - -	167	168 237
Nagar Parkar, a village, - - - - -	334	336
Naib, Nabob, - - - - -	400	
Naigues or lieutenants, - - - - -	154	227 231
Naiques, - - - - -	228	231
	See Naigues	
Naldourouch, circar, - - - - -	289	296.
Naramquere, - - - - -	335	
Narangi Pundit, Sevagi's general, - - - - -	223	
Narransiney, - - - - -	221	222
Narsingh, - - - - -		
Narwaal See the fabulous history of the Hindoos in note xxix page 209 210		
Nasereddin, flourished in 1261, the Tables of,		
		217
Nasir, or Nasick Tirmekh, - - - - -	113	143 285
Nasirabad, - - - - -		286
Native powers of India, - - - - -		193.
Navarette, father, - 91. 200 203 204	205	
		206
	his credulity, - - - - -	200
Navigators of India, - - - - -		57
Naucqri, - - - - -		263
Naysury, - - - - -		372
Nazerbeg, the Persian, - - - - -	338	339 358
Nazir Buchtar-Chan, a man of letters, author of Mirat Allum, - - - - -		167
Nazir Jing, - - - - -		415 427
Necromancies, the missionaries abound in them; - - - - -		200
Negupatam, - - - - -		227 228 231
Negotiations, 81 83 101 106 116 140 151		
Negotan, river, - 38 72 81. 82 83 87 88		
	107	111 112 113 114 117 126 238
		268
Nelore, - - - - -		30 63 227.
Nerbeddah, river, 5. 145	205	210 287 343
Nerengal, - - - - -		286
Nergounda, - - - - -		289.
Neriad, a mart, - - - - -		334 343
New-Holland, - - - - -		457
Newport, Christopher, captain of the Expe- dition, - - - - -		375
New Years Gift, an East Indiaman, - - - - -		375
Niccanees, - - - - -		288
Nizumalmuluck, or regulator of the country, 170 171 225 398 399 424.		
Noah See the fabulous history of the Hin- doos, in note xxix page 209 210		
Nobavah Mounir, or splendid intelligence,		
		168.
Nehuda, supra cargo of the Rehemy, - - - - -		326
Noor Jehan, empress, or light of the world, 186 187.		
	Mahil, the light of the seraglio, 186	
		365
Northern coast above the Concan, - - - - -		77
	provinces of Coromandel, - - - - -	3
	territory dependant on Goa, mean- ing under Bassein and Daman,	
		145
Noses cut off in outrage, - - - - -		112.
NOTES to the HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS,		
		165.
Nourdabar,		

INDEX.

N	Arabian	27	Pansal	near Daman,	33. 71	219
A	Berry, a purgative.	285. 287	Panache, f 1 Malipore 7 8. 9. 22 77 84 87		95 96 104 105 114 155 158. 161 163	145 195
B	Houshjirn, King of Persia.	182.				145
C	Henry great,	197	Pansal	" 7. 71	27	238
D	Oderic, friar of Porell, flourished in 1330,	216 217	Papaya tree, 3	" "		470.
E	Omrah, Omrahs, 14. 21 68. 159. 233 40.	307 339	1 per kite, Chagach taken by oct, 11	11	193.	
F	Ooffer Khan,	156.	Parlier	See Neger Parlier		
G	Oppression of the government of Indostan,	1 430.	Parrels	" "	183. 184	
H	Oranjoys, principal lords of Bantam,	118.	Parrel,	" "	183	
I	Orical trial, in boiling 4,	200.	Parrot	" "	183.	
J	Origin of seasons men and places, always an object of curiosity	229.	Parasapatis, mountains,	" "	437	
K	Origin of the company establishment at Bantam, 1603,	277	Pat, pasports,	" "	129 133	
L	Bengal, 1638, ~	1. 8	Pat	" "	379	
M	Bombay 1662,	23.	Pates city	4. 201	202. 207	
N	Broad, 1616, ~	371 372.	provinces,		390.	
O	Calcutta, 1 118. 284 285		Patni,	" "	173	
P	Callicot, 1616,	371.	Pantacea,	" "	309.	
Q	Madras, 1640, 11	62. 229. 230	Pavilions of Aurungzebe	1	102	266.
R	Surat, 1603,	288. 319.	Pawly Gar a fort and town, 104	103. 267		
S	Ords	5		268. 269.		
T	Orme, M his original manuscripts now in the library of the honourable East India company	~ ~ 171 239. 281	Pellman, the, an East Indianman,	490. 493		454
U	Oreopax	372.	Pever river	" "	63. 226.	
V	Oreos,	217. 337 338. 339. 340. 345.	Pesquidet castle	" "	226. 227	
W	Offunder the an East Indianman,	327 373.	Pestiles of India,	" "	3. 69. 237	
X	One province of,	413.	Pess, river 22 24. 34. 70. 72. 88	111 116.		
Y	Ovadja,	~ 39. 373		206. 237		
Z	Oxander	~ 289.	Persimmons,	" "	236.	
	Ovington, believes a prediction,	200. 267	Pepper	" "	209.	
	Opposition of M. Arquettel to Perron, translated out of the Basque language, meaning, the secret pot is bre-revealed,	239 240. 243. 244	Pepper-com, the, an East Indianman,	326.		374.
	See notes 21 page 234. to 250.		Pepwell, -captain of the James,	376. 377		
	Ozanden, M Henry 43. 44. 54. 136. 213		Percallots,	" "	1 209.	
		214. 215. 222. 260.	Periplo Marii Thysiane, imported to the second century	" "	218.	
			PERSIA 120 21 32. 42. 62. 139. 149. 172			
			177 193 217 293. 291 336. 337	342.		
			337 338. 361 382 383. 383. 386	387		
			1 1 413. 416. 457 458. 459.			
			government of,		219	
			4 gulph of,	13. 45. 82. 219. 319.		
				337 360.		
			51 horfe	" 262. 293.		
			339 of,	180. 182. 292. 339. 384.		
			385 386. 387 388. 389. 390.			
			parts of,	338.		
			Perkari, Perdans,	21 337 338. 349. 422.		
			geographers,	" 196.		
			version of the Opoeshat, in the British Museum,	239.		
			Peric hilarians,	" 180.		
			Language, 169. 180. 236 239. 43. 264.			

INDEX.

<i>Peru</i> , - - - - -	470	<i>PORTUGAL</i> , princes of, Katherine, queen of Charles II	23
<i>Perwannah</i> , - - - - -	284	<i>PORTUGUESE</i> , the, meaning their GOVERNMENT or people in INDIA, 8 22 27 28	
<i>Pesgouri, Mctkal</i> , - - - - -	296	30 35 37 39 40 41 45 52 54 71	
Plague, Sultan Mauzum's camp afflicted by, - - - - -	142 156	79 81 82 111 112 115 122 123 124	
<i>Peteraroes</i> , - - - - -	124	126 127 133 134 136 141 198 202	
<i>Petit</i> , Mr one of the company's factors, 72 127 128 129 130 135 137 138		205 207 211 215 218 220 221 227	
<i>Pettipolly</i> , factory, - - - - -	212	230 238 277 320 321 322 329 333	
<i>Peyton</i> , captain, of the Expedition, 368 375		337 338 340 341 343 344 347 349	
<i>Philippines</i> , - - - - -	203	357 358 359 360 361 365 366 368	
Philosophers stone, the Mahomedans spend money in quest of, - - - - -	200	370 371 373 379 383 386	
Phirnaunds, from the Mogul to the Last India company, - - - - -	128 129 332 341 342 343 363 366 371 372 374	See <i>Bassein, Chaul, Daman, Goa</i>	
from the Mogul to Petit and Boucher, - - - - -	136	<i>PORTUGUESE</i> , their MARINE	
from Sambagi, for the trade in the Gingee country, 116		armada, 219 320 321 323	
Sambagi's, on the main, 108		349 353 354 355 368.	
<i>Pilcundah</i> , 234 See <i>Volcondah</i>		boats, - - - - -	124
Pilgrims, tax levied on them, - - - - -	285	fleet, 123 207 329 330 331	
<i>Pinna, Chaulna</i> , fort, - - - - -	26	347 349 350 351 355 368	
Pir, or Saint, - - - - -	294	frigates, 126 327 328 333	
Piracy, encouraged by Sevagi, - - - - -	10	348 351 352 353 354	
Pirates, Malabar, - - - - -	77	gallions, 329 331 332 337	
<i>Pjhatur</i> , - - - - -	21 49 67 68	347 348 349 350 353 355	
Pitan, Pitans, tribes of Pishavir and Cabul, 21 224 236 237		gallivats, - - - - -	320
war of, 25 49 67 68 76 106		grabs, - - - - -	<i>ibid</i>
Pitan, an impostor, - - - - -	50	junks, - - - - -	.551 352
Bullal Khan, minister and general of Viziapore, - - - - -	76	ships, 120 324 347 369 376	
Teaver Cawn, - - - - -	102	Portuguese governor of Bassein, - - - - -	116
two belonging to the Siddee, 121		government of Surat, 320 371	
Pitt, Mr - - - - -	128	Jesuits, 61 292 333 341 344 366	
Plantain tree, - - - - -	470	trade, - - - - -	145 371
Pole tax See Capitation tax		Pourib See the fabulous history of the Hindoos in Note <i>vix</i> page 209 210	
Politenes and Ceremonies of the Moors, 425		<i>Pōwna</i> river, - - - - -	184
Pollum, 402 See Polygar		Powel, Michael, brother of sir Thomas, 359	
Polygars of Coromandel, 160 262 402		sir Thomas, 336 337 338 358 359	
Ponduh, 22 38 40 44 51 111 123 124		his widow, - - - - -	359
155 197 220		Predictions believed in India, - - - - -	200
<i>Poonah</i> , capital of the Morattoes, 146 197 237		Presidency, English, at Surat See Surat	
Pope, the, - - - - -	382 388	President, the East Indiaman, 120 213	
<i>Porto Noro</i> , - - - - -	62 116 137 299	Pretender to the throne, as king of Indostan, 30 68 298	
Morattoe governor of, 116		Prince, meaning sultan Mauzum, 17	
Porus, - - - - -	6 182 459	Hindoo princes, 6	
<i>PORTUGAL</i> , crown of, - - - - -	23 79	Pruthi, - - - - -	216
gentry of, - - - - -	23	Property in Indostan, subject to oppressions, 451	
king of, - - - - -	361	Prophet, no tribe without a prophet or bible, 242 243	
		Providence,	

INDEX.

Providence,	244.	Rajpoot distinct from Dunda Raj pore	
Palmira, the,	241 244	22. 5 26. 33. 36 33 40 44 81	
Palace,	62 228.	53. 64 88 111 120. 133 137 145.	
Panmender	157 158. 160	160. 174 175 222. 239 260.	
Pandita,	243	records,	
Purchas,	77 326. 349. 359. 360.	239. 260.	
Purgatorial, o districts, 183. 184 221 257	22.	river of,	
183. 235. 236. 237 239. 239	meaning Donda Rajapore,	9.	
Radelis library Oxford,	166 232.	Rajpoot, general of Jodhpore,	100.
Rakshaspur on the river K. tch.,	334 336.	nation,	90.
Rakshapure	873.	officer,	106.
Rakheri fort,	146.	princes,	265.
Rakheri the purgatorial of, 184. 258. 257	294	raja,	100. 266.
Raument, very little used in India,	47	tribes,	6. 267.
Ramessi	286	Rajpoots,	6 43 74. 75. 76 85 93. 99
Raijera, Rari	22. 4 25 26 27 30. 31	100. 101 102. 103. 104 106 142. 182.	
34 35 37 38. 39. 40. 47 52. 53.	~67 269 333. 336 337		
54 55 58. 60. 63. 64 69. 71 76.	Rewall,	286.	
77 81. 84. 85. 87 88. 89. 90. 92	Rewall fort,	713.	
95 96 104 105. 107 109 110.	Rewanger	27 28. 171.	
118 116 117 119. 120. 126. 134	Ramnath Cawn, a Mogul general	116. 11	
140. 143. 145. 146. 214. 215 221	/	119. 170.	
223. 231 58. 237	Ramragio,	225.	
government of,	108.	RAM R JAN son of Sevagi,	95. 103. 222.
Rajah, of Abahr Jyiling,	13. 15.	~60 270.	
Arrakan,	49. 192.	Ramming, son of Jyding	75. 235.
Bemar	84	Ranab, or lord of the rajaha,	35. 40. 76
Balbel,	333	or lord of the rajaha of Chitora,	78
Chitore	6. 73 182.	76 83. 86. 99. 100. 104 106 107	
Ghour	27 28.	Raojewad diamond mines,	276.
Jeffwoot Sing, who is Hikewala		Rat of India, Sevagi compared	263. 264.
meant by the Rajah of Marwar		Rati fort,	60. 221 222.
and Jodhpore,	5. 83	Rebellion, Kaloumdgi, Rajah, his,	171.
Mysore,	141	Rebels,	170 204 301 304
Nannmagur	27 28.	of Bombay	132. 134. 133 137 138.
Serhagar	192.	Records belonging to the East India Company	181 243. 293.
Sondah,	1. 4.	Red Sea, ships trading to the,	87 323. 374
See Abahr Chittore, Jeffwoot Sing,		337 343 371	
Jodhpore, Jyiling, Marwar Raj		Redactions in favour of Christianity and	
poot, Ranasing, Ranah.		Liberty	434.
Rajahs in general,	170. 171 182. 254. 268.	Redbury the, an Indian ship, the largest on	
269. 270. 297 298.		the seas of India,	3. 3. 365. 346. 361
Mahomed Sadiq away from		Religious Rites of the Moraitos,	211.
Golconde,	160.	Revenue frigate	79. 80. 134.
Sultan M urum's army	18.	Revenue of the Decan, as rated in the	
between Rajapore and Mirron,		log books,	183 401 411 414
33.		Rice,	198.
petty	73. 103.	easily digested,	404 408 468.
rajpoots,	100	carrots sometimes fall in India,	470.
Ranah, lord of the,	33. 40. 75.	Eickhoff Van Goen	30. 32. 33 41 42. 43.
268. 269. 270.		his foo,	207.
Rajahships in general	73 93	Rik Ved, the word of God,	242.
		Robbers, bands of,	217.
		Rocaille,	176.
		Roeberer lord	772.
		Roe,	

INDEX.

Roe, sir Thomas, 182 201 362, 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 371 372 373 374 375 380 381 his articles of trade demanded of the Mogul, - 367	SAMBAGI, his desoys in Sundah and Carwar, 145 embassador to Bombay, 116 phouſdar, or governor on the main, - - - 108 relating to his COUNTRY coasts, - - - 119 country, 109 110 123 268 frontiers, - - - 114 mountains, - - - 107 shores, - - - 112 relating to his WAR army, - - - 124 force, - - - 123 infantry, - - - 124
Rohilla Cawn, Ramnaut Cawn's lieutenant general, - - - 118 159	See under Morattoes, after page 95.. relating to his FLEET
Rome, a surprising piece of cannon cast by an Italian of, at Viziapore, - 291	admiral in chief - - 114
Room, chiefs of, - - - 252	fleet, 98 107 110 119 145.. gallivats, - - - 126
Rose Namma, by Mirza Cassim, - 167	SAMBAGI, brother of Sevagi, - 302..
Rouse, sir C W Boughton, 169 245 251 256 See authorities	Sambole, the Siddee, admiral and command- er in chief of the state. The references include the mentions that are made of him, either by his title of Siddee, or by his proper name 31 35 38 39 41 44 53 54 55 57 64 65 66 113
Roupees, struck by Noor Jehan, - 186	Sambrooke, sir Jeremy, - - - 272
Russia, - - - 389	Samorin, - - - 369 370..
Rustum Roy, the King of Golcondah's general, 147 152	Sampson, the, an East Indianaman, 213..
Ruy Freyre, an officer of reputation, 368 369	Sam Vèd, the word of God chaunted with music, - - - - - 242
Sacred animals of religion, - - 86 writings of the Hindoos 249 See Bedes	Sangammer, - - - - - 285..
Sadrabs, - - - - 30 63 228	Sanguaseer, - - - - - 120
Safeguards, Sevagi's, a few trusty men, 58	Sanorabs, - - - - - 234
Saint John Baptist, a French ship, 177 John's headland, - - - 138	Sanour, - - - - - 289
Helena, island, - - - 65	Sancrit language, 211 239 243 245 249
Sekkar fort, - - - - 296	San'thonē, 30 48 61 173 174 176 227 228..
Salam Koornis, or low obersance, 283 284	Santogee, Santogi Row, - 155 156 159
Salawanh, - - - - 228	Saoow, father of Sevagi, a powerful Zemindar 170 302 See Shah G.
Salcette island, near Bombay, 33 39 44 71 95 110 132 134 142 212 216 217 220 237 264	Sarala, - - - - - 184
Saldana bay, - - - - 337	Serdanapalus, - - - - - 466
Saler Moler, - - - 22 26 27 257	Saris, captain, - - - 324 325 326
Salere garrison, - - - - 234..	Satara, purgunnahs of, - - - - - 184
Sale's translation of the Koran - 245	Satarah, fortres of, 37 111 114 119 126 155
Salomon, an East Indianaman, - 375	Say, Mr an interloper, - - - - - 127
SAMBAGI, SAMBAGEE, son and successor of Sevagi, 54 76 77 84 87 95.. 96 97 98 104 105 106 109 110 112 113 114 116-117 119 120 122 123 124 125 127 132 134 135 136 140 141 142 143 145 146 147 149 150 151 154 155 158 159 161 162 163 179 223 235 259 261 268 269 270 300 303 305	SCHAN ALBAS II - - - - 20 21 meant by Sophy of Persia 21 See Shah
his invincible courage, and death, 164. 306	SCAH JEHAN See Shah Jehan
	Schambal river, - - - - - 20
	Schewitzer, his voyage to India, - 275
	Scandy, - - - - - 394 340 341..
	Scipios, the country of, - - - - - 466
	Scott,

INDEX.

Scott, Captain Jonathan,	10.	See also countries, country	69.
Seythians,	459	shore	79 96
Sebeh-taluk, father of Mahmud,	66	shores, the hole of his dominion on the sea	103
Secrets to be concealed, 44. See Dupockhat.		upper a northern country	26.
Second Sum, o Sultan Ahmeddin, emperor of Delhi,	211	mentions of his GOVERNMENT and ADMINISTRATION	
Sects,	436	tribes, how judiciously applied, 93.	
Sefi, the King of Persia descendant of	583.	government, - 65, 70, 93.	
Selim, son of Achbar	185.	governors,	65
Sensor	323	subadar or governor of Upper Chinal,	
Semykent,	213.	63, 72.	
Sepulchre at Agra, said to have cost 750,000L	188.	treasures,	92.
Sers country of,	226	treasuries,	111
Sengilio	412	mention of his WARFARE	
the ladies of, solicited Aerwaghebo to destroy Sengli,	14	gentry,	215.
Seringapat	190, 192.	army 14, 27, 34, 47, 58, 704, 221, 262	
Seringa Rajah, last king of Carnatic,	62.	artillery	40.
Seringapaton, the capital of Myfore, 63.	141, 145, 234, 301	assassins	11
Serj Khan, the general of Vizisport 77, 86	144, 145	assistance	69.
Sera, meaning rat,	763	attacks	78.
Seragers, Soring people or troops,	178.	bands,	16.
SERAGI 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16	17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27	batteries,	72.
28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37	38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48	body of troops	29.
51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 61,	63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72	booty	34
76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85	86, 87, 88, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96	camp,	13
97, 98, 100, 101, 111, 114, 118	129, 135, 134, 155, 162, 170, 171	camps,	12.
122, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178	179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 196	canon, 36, 38, 41, 81, 109, 232, 307	
199, 202, 204, 205, 206, 207, 211	199, 202, 204, 205, 206, 207, 211	cavalry	91, 96.
211, 213, 216, 16, 219, 220, 221	222, 223, 224, 232, 233, 234, 235,	conquest,	153.
235, 239, 250, 263, 264, 265, 277	284, 299, 300, 302, 303.	detachment,	23, 69.
304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309.	his character, from page 90 to 95.	exertions,	26.
his funeral,	260.	mention of his WARFARE	
implied by fate	184	expedition,	63, 66, 68, 233.
a consummate hero and sovereign,	174	floating platforms,	57
his eldest son,	13, 14, 15.	foot,	262.
his sons Bambagi and Bamrajah;		force,	27, 37, 40, 84
which for		fortresses,	93.
Aerwaghebo used to call him the		forts in the northern hills,	10.
mountain rat,	263.	general,	44, 55
mention of his Country		general description of his warfare	
coast,	48, 53, 64.	offensive and defensive from page	
corinth,	53, 66	91 to page 94	
		horse,	30, 55, 58, 84, 223, 262.
		horse and foot,	46.
		march	26.
		men,	44, 57, 71
		soogha's war against him,	100.
		officer,	173, 216.
		outposts,	11
		parties,	47
		party	12.
		plundering,	10.
		in Vizisport,	16.
			5 Vols

INDEX

SEVAGI , posts,	- - - - -	98	Shipman, sir Andrew, died	- - - - -	23
ravaging,	- - - - -	26 77	<i>Shiraz</i> in Persia,	- - - - -	195
resistance,	- - - - -	13	Shirley, Anthony, 382 383 384 385 386	387 388 389 390	
retreat,	- - - - -	86	sir Robert, 336 338 358 359 381	382 389 390	
revolt,	- - - - -	211 215.			
sieges,	- - - - -	92	<i>Shurpi</i> ,	- - - - -	227.
small parties,	- - - - -	14	<i>Shloks</i> -verses, 243 See <i>Shloks</i>		
troops,	6 7 15 37 39 40 51 71		SIAM ,	- - - - -	118 274
	77 81 90 220		<i>Sibon</i> , a Portuguese fort, 54 220 221		
mentions of his MARINE			SIDDEES , the people so called, 10 44 56 78	107 108 323	
admirals,	- - - - -	70 80			
armada,	- - - - -	80	their origin, 55 56 57		
boats,	- - - - -	70 79 81	meaning those in the fleet, or the		
seize Kenary,	- - - -	79	fleet itself, 31 71 72 97		
convoy,	- - - - -	83	Siddee , the, meaning the admiral or com-		
sleet,	- - - - -	77 78 80 207	mander in chief of the state, 24 25		
fight the Siddees and are beaten,			29 134 135 139 202 223 These		
		87	references are only to the title, when the		
increased to 57 sail, - - -	53	person is not ascertained			
Sevagi wished to command			Siddee Coffim , admiral and commander in		
at sea,	- - - - -	263	chief See Coffim		
gallivats,	53 78 80 81 83 88		Cowis Cawn See Cowis Cawn		
grabs,	- - - - -	53 78 87 88	Curry See Curry		
sea ports,	- - - - -	10	Jore See Jore		
vessels,	- - - - -	24	Misery See Misery		
of trade and war, - - -	58	Sambole , admiral and commander			
See Anchideva, Carwar, Hendary,			in chief See Sambole		
Kenary, Rajapore, Siddee			SIDDEES , mention of their FLEET and the		
Sevaguzzies,	- - - - -	209 257 288	crews		
Seven climates, the inhabitants of the,	252		admiral's ship ,	- - - - -	121 122
Sewâjî, prince of Cokin, meaning Sevagi, 180			boats ,	- - - - -	42
Shabander, or custom master, - - -	349		fleet ,	27 29 35 36 38 39 40	
SHAH ABbas II died at Tauris, 20 21	196 336 359 382 384 386	Meant by	41 42 45 46 48 53 54 71		
Sophy of Persia			77 82 87. 88 98 111 114		
Shah Gî, father of Sambagi, Eccogi, and			121 126 134		
Sevagi, 302 See Saow			gallivats ,	82 88 107 108 111 112	
SHAH JEHA ^N , the king of the world, father			men ,	- - - - -	56. 97.
of Aurengzebe, 4 5 20 73 107 166 170			pitans ,	- - - - -	121
187 188 190 192 232 245 253 360			quarters ,	- - - - -	71
SHAH ZADA, or heir of the Mogul empire, 3			slips ,	29 39 53 82 111	
Shaita Cawn, 185 See Chaest Khan			smaller vessels ,	- - - - -	111
Shanâvaze Khan, son of Asiph Jah, 187 190			vessels ,	31 36 55 56 57 71 87.	
	191 265		Sidi Amber , governor of Doulatabad,	- - - - -	170.
Sharpeigh, captain of the Ascension,	321		Sikes , the,	- - - - -	237
	322 375		Silver chains ,	- - - - -	104 149
Shaw-ji, or Suhu-ji, son of Eccogi,	301		Sindam Konlⁱ ,	- - - - -	289.
Shawn, chiefs of,	- - - - -	252	Sindy , port,	- - - - -	325.
Sheike Suffee, governor of Ahmedabad,			Singaman vessels,	- - - - -	138
	328		Sion , town in Bombay,	- - - - -	42
Sheko Seliman, son of sultan Darah,	189		Slavery , has sharpened the natural fitness of		
	190 192 240 245		all the spirits of Asia,	- - - - -	431
Shekferadje, the tomb of,	- - - - -	294	Slaves ,	- - - - -	83 86 96 205
Shere Af ^{un} ,	- - - - -	185	Shloks -verses, 243 See <i>Shloks</i>		
Shubirs, trading boats used at Bombay, 79			Smith , General Richard,	- - - - -	183
	80 82				Smirna

INDEX.

INDEX

TANJORE, king,	297 298	Trading-boats,	112
kingdom,	227 235 301	<i>Tranquebar</i> ,	228 231.
naigue of,	299 300 301 375	<i>Tiatencore</i> , king of,	435.
women burnt with the,	261	Tribute to the Moguls,	212.
sovereignty,	300 301	<i>Trumliwah</i> ,	299 300
town,	228 299	Trimul, naigue of Madura and Tritchinopoly,	301
Tanks,	216		
of water, poisoned by Sambagi,	158		
<i>Tannah</i> ,	71 81 217 238 282	<i>Ti inconamalce</i> ,	30 32 176 177
<i>Tanore</i> ,	174	<i>Tinomalec</i> ,	157
Tapseils,	288	<i>Tripetti</i> ,	63 227 228
<i>Tapti</i> , river,	22 41 145 210 211 287	<i>Tritchunopoly</i> ,	154 228 301 304
Tartars,	91 185 418 421 422 425 437 457 458 461	Ling,	297
<i>Tartary</i> ,	457 459 462	<i>Trivadi</i> ,	228 235
horses of,	262	<i>Trivalore</i> ,	228.
<i>Tatimal</i> , purgannah,	286	<i>Tull</i> ,	24 78
<i>Tatta</i> ,	359	Turaun, chiefs of,	252
the capital of Scindy,	334 335	<i>Turkey</i> ,	200.
<i>Tavernier</i> ,	171, 172 232 290 458	Turkish empire,	383 388 389 441
<i>Tawis</i> , Shah Abbas II died at,	21	history,	264.
Taxes, established,	140	territories,	386
<i>Tchit Koka</i> , purgannah,	296	<i>Turks</i> ,	325 385 387 388
<i>Tchitpet</i> ,	184	<i>Turmerick</i> ,	257
Teaver Caun, one of Acbar's generals,	102	Tuttichchund, family of,	450
Teber Estoон, a palace in Persia,	196		
Teling, the son of Decan See the fabulous History of the Hindoos, in Note xix, page 209 210		<i>Vacquel</i> ,	282 283 284
Telinga, or the Gentoo language,	210	<i>Valaru</i> , river,	62
<i>Tellicherry</i> ,	174 175	<i>Valemgarah</i> ,	296
Temi Rajah,	225	<i>Van de Blocquern</i> , Solomon,	272
Tenure,	300	<i>Vanden Heuvel</i> , Isaac,	272.
<i>Tcpia</i> , kingdom of,	458	<i>Vandivah</i> ,	160 161
Terry, Edward, chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe,	380	<i>Van Goen</i> , Rickloffe See Rickloffe	
Thamas Kouli Khan,	399	<i>Van Hoorn</i> , Jacob,	272
<i>Phana</i> , city,	217	<i>Vaniambady</i> , valley of,	62
<i>Thetrenapalam</i> ,	137 158 228	<i>Vardah</i> , river,	287
Thevenot, 172 173 182 194 231 232 257 291 292 459		<i>Vauve</i> , Mr John, of the council, Bombay,	139
<i>Thibet</i> , great and little,	457	<i>Vayim</i> , 222 See <i>Rajim</i>	
Thornburn, Lieutenant,	130 131 139	<i>UDEPERRI</i> , favourite wife of Aurengzebe, and mother of Cawn Bukh,	85 150 266
<i>Tillianpurrah</i> ,	282	<i>Ushbeg-Tartary</i> ,	457
Timiragio,	225 226 227 his son,	<i>Vedes</i> , four Bedes,	239
Timurean race,	254	<i>Velore</i> ,	62 228 230 231 232 235 262
<i>Tinnetty</i> ,	227	<i>Tenicc</i> ,	382
Todos Santos, a Portuguese man of war,	348	<i>Venkitrou</i> ,	225.
Toglipoor, rock,	286	<i>Veringatorix</i> ,	458 466
<i>Tombadra</i> , river,	<i>ibid</i>	<i>Terful</i> ,	95 264
Tombs,	216 294 295	<i>Verwoah</i> , factors,	132
<i>Tonquir</i> ,	118	Vice-regents,	399.
<i>Topasses</i> ,	130 145	Viceroy in the Decan,	63
Trade of Indostan,	413	of Goa, 23 133 203 See <i>Goa</i> and Portuguese	
Trade's Increase, an East Indiaman,	375	Viceroy or Nabobs,	397 398
		Vincent, Mr	128 129
		Vindy, supposed King of Candish,	225
		<i>Vingorlah</i> ,	42 53 98 125 133 177
			Viziarore,

INDEX.

VILLAGES, armes,	62	Volcandek	62, 63, 234
army	66	Upanishat, 243. See Cupanikhat.	
capital,	7	Upper Canal. See Canal.	
cavalry	144		
circar,	257		
citadel,	148		
city	7, 8, 9, 17, 29, 30, 37, 61		
- 141, 143, 146, 147, 148, 149			
152, 159, 161, 173, 184, 208,			
209, 238, 291, 292, 293, 302			
303.			
taken,	148, 149		
council,	64		
country,	34, 183, 222, 234, 286,		
87, 249, 299, 301			
inland,	38.		
description of the city of,	290		
291			
dominioea,	8.		
fleet,	8, 9.		
forces,	62, 144, 200.		
forts,	153.		
frontier	77		
general,	76, 86.		
government,	137, 141, 144, 251		
302			
governor of Gingee	115, 299.		
King	6, 8, 9, 10, 16, 26, 34		
35, 37, 44, 56, 61, 69, 91, 114			
119, 141, 148, 149, 211, 224			
223, 231, 291, 301, 302, 323.			
palace of,	291		
King om	5, 7, 10, 16, 22, 34,		
35, 37, 51, 56, 57, 60, 62, 69			
77, 84, 86, 91, 114, 115, 119,			
120, 125, 134, 144, 148, 149,			
154, 158, 215, 231, 230, 231			
234, 264, 286, 291			
minister	76		
northern division	1		
region	144		
operations,	60.		
subah or province,	183, 289		
territory	141		
troops,	- 7, 40, 51, 148.		
war of,	1, 5, 141		
western frontier,	155		
Vizir	3, 244, 332, 415		
Uleg Reg. described in 1437 tables of 217			
Unicorn, the, an East Indiaman,	375, 380.		
Unitarians,	240, 241, 242.		
Unity the, an East Indiaman,	212, 213		
Universal History,	168, 178		
		Zemindar, 403. See Zemindar	
		Zemindar,	170, 461, 402, 403, 450.
		Zeman, M. Charles, deputy governor of	
		Bombay	139, 140.
		Zoroaster the religion of,	- 184.
		Zulfiqar Cann,	301, 350, 362, 363, 368,
			368

Among Mr Orme's papers was found the commencement of a prose translation of Homer's Iliad, but whether he ever had it in contemplation to complete such a version we do not learn. He records, that he began to read Poetry in the year 1740, that it was his chief amusement, and that he remembered more of that than of any other kind of reading till the year 1754. Even the dates of his course of reading, he was attentive enough to register thus:

Pop. Homer Iliad and Odyssey 1742

Diodon Virgil 1742

Il. sec i. Lat. with the Notes of D'Acer and Savaron. Thus with attention.
43

Iliad sec i. Lat. with the Translation of Nodot. These two Books, I remember fixed what knowledge I have of the Latin Tongue and at the same time applied me to the French

Virgil Lat. with attention and repeated since. 1743 1743.

Livy Lat. 1744 attentively

Catoilus. Lat. 1746

Rhetoric to Herennius. Lat. 1751 with attention.

Sextus. Lat. 1751

Longinus Plays

Prior

Shakespeare Plays

Vanburgh. Latto

F. Field's ditto

Milton's Paradise Lost (over the Regalind.) 1742.

Taylor Spectator Guardia by piece-meal and not completed to this day
The Agonies of Milton three times. 1749, 1750, 1751

Gordon's Tacitus; which I have mostly forgotten except the hardness of the style 1743

Heslop's History of England 1743; of which I do not remember a word

Pope Works 1753

Swift Works 1752

Lat &希腊 twice 1750, 1751

Orion. Ls. of S. 1752 in one day

Charles Lilliput 1753 of which I remember little

Light's Lexicon. It sufficiently 1753

Polian Letters. Fr 1754 attentively

